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CONTENTS

ARTICLES

DOCUMENTS

REVIEW ARTICLES

REVIEWS

CHRONICLE

CONTRIBUTORS

Harvey Goldblatt is professor of Slavic languages and literatures, Yale University.

John-Paul Himka is professor of Central and East European history, University of Alberta.

Paul Robert Magocsi is professor of history and political science and holder of the Chair of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Toronto.

Andrzej A. Zięba is an associate of the Polonia Research Institute, Jagellonian University, Cracow.

Henry Abramson is a Ph.D. candidate in history with the Chair of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Toronto.

Borys Gudziak is a Ph.D. candidate in East Slavic cultural and ecclesiastical history at Harvard University.

Robert Mathiesen is professor of Slavic languages at Brown University.

Ihor Ševčenko is Dumbarton Oaks Professor of Byzantine History and Literature at Harvard University.

On the Language Beliefs of Ivan Vyšens'kyj and the Counter-Reformation*

HARVEY GOLDBLATT

A longlasting historiographic tradition informs us that Ivan Vyšens'kyj, the Orthodox Ruthenian "monk from the holy Athonite mountain"[1] was the resolute foe of the post-Tridentine Catholic Church and a fierce opponent of the Jesuit-inspired "new learning" which—especially after the founding of the Vilnius Academy by Piotr Skarga in 1579—quickly disseminated throughout the Ruthenian lands as part of an organized propaganda campaign against the institutions of the Eastern Orthodox faith.[2] Scholars of different critical orientations long have agreed that the ideas and literary stance of this "patriotic defender" of the Ruthenian Orthodox heritage remained essentially unaffected by Counter-Reformation models and patterns of thought.[3]

* Research for this article was supported by a grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, which I gratefully acknowledge.

1 On the life and writings of Ivan Vyšens'kyj, see N. F. Sumcov, "Ioann Vyšenskij (Južnorusskij polemist načala XVII st.)," *Kievskaja starina* 11 (1885): 649–77; I. P. Žytec'kyj (Žiteckij), "Literaturnaja dejatel'nost' Ioanna Višenskogo," *Kievskaja starina* 29 (1890): 494–532; I. Franko, *Ivan Vyšens'kyj i jeho tvory* (Lviv, 1895) (cited after Ivan Franko, *Zibrannja tvoriv u p'jatdesjaty tomax*, vol. 30 [Kiev, 1981], pp. 7–211); A. Kryms'kyj (Krymskij), "Ioann Vyšenskij, ego žizn' i sočinenija," *Kievskaja starina* 50 (1895): 211–47 (cited after A. Ju. Kryms'kyj, *Tvory v p'jaty tomax*, vol. 2 [Kiev, 1972], pp. 380–455); J. Tretiak, *Piotr Skarga w dziejach i literaturze Unii brzeskiej* (Cracow, 1912), esp. pp. 233–87; M. S. Voznjak, *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury*, vol. 2, *Viky XVI–XVIII* (Lviv, 1921), pp. 125–70; M. Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury*, vol. 5 (Kiev, 1927), pp. 284–352; I. P. Eremin (Jer'omin), *Ivan Višenskij. Sočinenija* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1955), pp. 223–335; I. P. Jer'omin, *Ivan Vyšens'kyj. Tvory* (Kiev, 1959), pp. 3–39; P. K. Jaremenko, *Ivan Vyšens'kyj* (Kiev, 1982); V. Ševčuk, *Ivan Vyšens'kyj. Tvory* (Kiev, 1986), pp. 3–18. For a bibliography of Ivan Vyšens'kyj, see, *inter alia*, L. E. Maxnovec', comp. *Ukrajins'ki pys'mennyky: Biobibliohrafičnyj slovnyk*, vol. 1 (Kiev, 1960), pp. 230–36; Jaremenko, *Ivan Vyšens'kyj*, pp. 118–40.

2 On the spread of Counter-Reformation thought in general, and the impact of the Jesuit order in particular, in the Ruthenian lands, see Tretiak, *Piotr Skarga*, esp. pp. 34–82; A. Martel, *La langue polonaise dans les pays Ruthènes: Ukraine et Russie blanche, 1569–1667*, Travaux et mémoires de l'université de Lille, n.s., Droit et lettres, 20 (Lille, 1938), pp. 219–58; M. Kosman, *Reformacja i kontrreformacja w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w świetle propagandy wyznaniowej* (Wrocław, 1973), esp. pp. 104–68; J. Tazbir, *Piotr Skarga: Szermierz kontrreformacji* (Warsaw, 1978).

3 It is important to note that not only the "national-patriotic" school of Vyšens'kyj scholarship, which can be said to have its origins in Pantelejmon Kuliš's exaltation of Vyšens'kyj as

The reasons which provoked Vyšens'kyj's ferocious opposition to intellectual and cultural life in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during the reign of King Sigismund III Vasa (1587–1632) and allegedly led the Athonite monk to reject totally all ideological schemes and literary models connected with the Catholic Counter-Reformation have been explained by scholars in various ways. Most frequently, reference has been made to the fact that Vyšens'kyj's oeuvre was intimately bound up with the traditional and "simple" teachings of Orthodox monasticism which repudiated the "cunning" Latin doctrine and "pagan" rhetorical craft that ostensibly characterized much of contemporary Polish and Ruthenian literature.[4] Vyšens'kyj thus has been distanced not only physically but spiritually and ideologically from the active mainstream of cultural life in the multinational Commonwealth. In particular, he has been defined as a retrograde "apologist for ignorance" in contradistinction to progressive "defenders of learning," such as Meletij Smotryc'kyj and Peter Mohyla, who in their cul-

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both "prophet" and "apostle" (P. A. Kuliš, *Istorija vossoedinenija Rusi*, vol. 1 [St. Petersburg, 1874], pp. 289–319), but also its Soviet counterpart has tended to impose upon Vyšens'kyj and his work a Romantic historiographic vision which seriously misrepresents the dialectical relationship between "nations" and "confessions" that is of such fundamental importance for Orthodox Slavic culture in the early modern period: see R. Picchio, "Questione della lingua e Slavia Cirillometodiana," in *Studi sulla Questione della lingua presso gli Slavi*, ed. R. Picchio (Rome, 1972), pp. 7–13. This interpretative tradition, which places great (if not exclusive) emphasis on Vyšens'kyj as the "conscience of the nation," views his writings primarily as a defence of the "national" heritage against the assaults of Counter-Reformation trends that are identified above all with the Polish nation and its "Jesuit" culture. Even those scholars who have sought to give adequate consideration to confessional concerns often have had their views shaped by critical clichés which can be traced back to the confrontation between "Orthodox" and "Catholic" culture immediately before and after the Church Union declared at Brest in 1596: see, in this regard, D. Frick, "Meletius Smotricky and the Ruthenian Question in the Age of the Counter-Reformation" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1983), pp. 39–75; F. Sysyn, "Peter Mohyla and the Kiev Academy in Recent Western Works: Divergent Views on Seventeenth-Century Ukrainian Culture," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 8 (1984): 155–87. One might include here a body of Soviet scholarship—largely indebted to an Orthodox historiographic tradition—which regards Vyšens'kyj as one in a series of "political and social activists" who, since 1596, have struggled to liberate the Ukrainian lands from "reactionary" Vatican influence: see, for example, L. Kyzja and M. Kovalenko, *Vikova borot'ba ukrajins'koho narodu proty Vatikanu* (Kiev, 1959), pp. 38–46.

[4] Ever since the appearance of studies by Kuliš, Franko, Žytec'kyj, and others in the latter decades of the nineteenth century, scholars often have based their evaluation of Vyšens'kyj's work on the opposition, made by the author himself, between not only the type of information offered in his writings and alternative messages but also the manner of rhetoric used to convey that message and other types of verbal expression. In particular, scholars have made frequent reference to a number of passages in which Vyšens'kyj offers a topical condemnation of rhetorical "stratagems" (*xytrosti*) and equally topical affirmation of Christian "simplicity" (*prostota*): see A. N. Robinson, *Bor'ba idej v russkoj literature XVII veka* (Moscow, 1974), pp. 319–27. Cf. fn. 105 below.

tural programs for the Ruthenian inhabitants of the Commonwealth consciously—and often extensively—employed the tools of their "Latin" rivals.[5]

Other scholars, in seeking to elucidate the ideological position adopted by Vyšens'kyj in his writings, have had recourse to historiographic formulae that relate to the religious and ideological conflict between the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation. According to this interpretation, Vyšens'kyj was an ardent propagandist who combated the influence of Catholic thought by means of highly effective satire and irony, combined with merciless invective, in a manner similar to "humanist and Reformation" (i.e., non-Catholic) writers such as Ulrich von Hutten, the celebrated German patriot, ardent supporter of Luther's cause, and bitter adversary of those who resisted the spread of the "new learning."[6] Scholars noted that Vyšens'kyj's criticism of the Protestant Reformation was far less hostile than his denunciation of post-Tridentine Catholicism,[7] and hypothesized that he might have been influenced in his youth by the increasingly successful assaults of Protestant and heterodox propaganda being conducted in the 1560s and 1570s throughout the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.[8] At the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth

[5] See Martel, *La langue polonaise*, pp. 259–66. It is paradoxical that this negative evaluation of Vyšens'kyj's thought, which is still influential in contemporary scholarship, has its origins in Kuliš's *exaltation* of the Athonite monk's "apostolic ignorance": cf. I. Franko, *Ivan Vyšens'kyj*, pp. 15–17, 164–65.

[6] See I. Franko (Miron), "Ioann Višenskij. (Novye dannye dlja ocenki ego literaturnoj i obščestvennoj dejatel'nosti)," in Franko, *Zibrannja tvoriv*, vol. 27 (Kiev, 1980), pp. 318–19. Beginning with Franko—and especially in the Soviet period—a dominant historiographic trend has established an intimate connection between Vyšens'kyj's "democratic humanism" and "utopian beliefs" and the ideological schemes of the "progressive" Protestant Reformation (in contradistinction to "reactionary" Counter-Reformation thought): see V. S. Xaritonov, "Ivan Vyšens'kyj i rozvytok idei jevropejs'koho humanismu," in *Literaturna spadščina kyjivs'koj Rusi i ukrajins'ka literatura XVI–XVIII st.* (Kiev, 1981), pp. 197–222. On the difficulty of applying conventional labels such as "Renaissance," "Reformation," and "Baroque" to Vyšens'kyj's oeuvre, see G. Grabowicz, *Toward a History of Ukrainian Literature* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981), pp. 37–38.

[7] See, most recently, Ševčuk, *Ivan Vyšens'kyj*, p. 6. Almost a century ago, Myxajlo Hruševs'kyj advanced the view that Vyšens'kyj's condemnation of "heresy" was not limited to the teachings of the Protestant Reformation but directed at *all* deviations from the Orthodox faith (M. Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija Ukrajiny-Rusy*, 10 vols. [reprinted New York, 1954–57], 6:420–26). Cf. M. V. Dmitriev, *Pravoslavie i reformacija. Reformacionnye dviženija v vostočno-slavjanskix zemljax* (Moscow, 1990), pp. 98–119, esp. pp. 100–101.

[8] On the impact of Protestant propaganda among the Ruthenians, see Tretiak, *Piotr Skarga*, pp. 34–52; Martel, *La langue polonaise*, pp. 203–18; S. Kot, *La Réforme dans le Grand-Duché de Lithuanie* (Brussels, 1953), esp. pp. 56–58; Kosman, *Reformacja i kontrreformacja*, esp. pp. 21–103; G. H. Williams, "Protestants in the Ukraine during the Period of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 2 (1978): 41–72 and 184–210; Dmitriev, *Pravoslavie i reformacija*. Insofar as Reformation influences on Vyšens'kyj are con-

century, moreover, a number of literary specialists pointed to not only interesting thematic correspondences but also, on occasion, revealing stylistic affinities between the Orthodox monk Vyšens'kyj and such "anti-Catholic" (i.e., Calvinist and Anti-Trinitarian) Polish writers as Mikołaj Rej, Marcin Krowicki, Marcin Czechowic, and Gregorz Paweł z Brzezin.[9] In other words, even when scholars challenged the notion that Vyšens'kyj's writings represent a total rejection of all things new and Western, they almost always focused their attention on the impact of Reformation thought.[10]

If one considers the language debates which took place in the late sixteenth and initial decades of the seventeenth century between the defenders of Ruthenian Orthodoxy and its adversaries regarding the nature and prestige of the Slavic language, as well as the legitimacy of a Ruthenian vernacular standard,[11] one can observe that here, too, scholars have stressed the

cerned, scholars have placed particular emphasis on the importance of his native city of Sudova Vyšnja (Sądowa Wisznia) where, among other religious and cultural activists, the celebrated political and religious polemicist Stanisław Orzechowski (himself of Ruthenian origin) preached and where Marcin Krowicki—the first Latin rite priest in the Commonwealth to be married, future Calvinist and Anti-Trinitarian, and author of the *Obraz a kontrefet własny Antykrystów* (Pińczów, 1560)—served as priest and took part in the dietine of the Ruthenian palatinate: see Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury*, 5:286–88; Ševčuk, *Ivan Vyšens'kyj*, pp. 5–7.

9 See Franko, *Ivan Vyšens'kyj*, p. 8; Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija Ukrajiny-Rusy*, 6:399–421; V. N. Peretc, "Ivan Višenskij i pol'skaja literatura XVI veka. Issledovanija i materialy po istorii starinnoj ukrainskoj literatury XVI–XVIII vekov, 1," *Sbornik Otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti* 101, no. 2 (1926): 15–47.

10 An important exception to this tendency can be observed in the work of Volodymyr Peretc ("Ivan Višenskij i pol'skaja literatura," pp. 24–30, 34–42), who detected revealing textual coincidences between Ivan Vyšens'kyj and such quintessentially Catholic writers as Stanisław Sokołowski, Benedykt Herbest, Piotr Skarga, and Jakub Wujek. It is unfortunate, indeed, that the research carried out in the 1920s by Peretc, Hruševs'kyj, and others could not be continued in the 1930s and beyond.

11 On the Ruthenian language disputes of the late sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth century, see P. I. Žytec'kyj (Žiteckij), *Očerk literaturnoj istorii malorusskogo narečija v XVII i XVIII vv.*, vol. 1, *Očerk literaturnoj istorii malorusskogo narečija v XVII veke* (Kiev, 1889), and its Ukrainian translation: *Narys literaturnoji istoriji ukrajins'koji movy v XVII vici*, ed. L. A. Bulaxovs'kyj (Lviv, 1941); M. Weingart, "Dobrovského Institutiones," pt. 1, "Církevněslovanské mluvnice před Dobrovským," *Sborník Filosofické fakulty University Komenského v Bratislavě* 1 (1923): 637–95; Martel, *La langue polonaise*; N. I. Tolstoj, "Vzaimootnošenie lokal'nyx tipov drevneslavjanskogo literaturnogo jazyka pozdnego perioda (vtoraja polovina XVI–XVII v.)," in *Slavjanskoe jazykoznanie: Doklady Sovetskoj delegacii, V. Meždunarodnyj s''ezd slavistov* (Moscow, 1963), pp. 230–72; R. Mathiesen, "The Inflectional Morphology of the Synodal Church Slavonic Verb" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1972), pp. 50–63; I. K. Bilodid, *Kyjevo-Mohyljans'ka akademija v istoriji sxidnoslov'jans'kyx literaturnyx mov* (Kiev, 1979), esp. pp. 48–84; G. Y. Shevelov, *A Historical Phonology of the Ukrainian Language* (Heidelberg, 1979), pp. 566–80; R. Picchio, "Church Slavonic," in A. Schenker and E. Stankiewicz, eds., *The Slavic Literary Languages:*

discrepancies between Vyšens'kyj's "old Orthodox Slavic" beliefs and the views held by his more "practical" and "secular-minded" Ruthenian contemporaries.[12] Accordingly, in response to the frontal attack on the Ruthenian cultural heritage launched by Piotr Skarga with his *On the Unity of God's Church under One Shepherd*,[13] Vyšens'kyj did not contend—as

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Formation and Development, Yale Russian and East European Publications, 1 (New Haven, 1980), pp. 28–32; B. A. Uspenskij, *Jazykovaja situacija Kievskoj Rusi i ee značenie dlja istorii russkogo literaturnogo jazyka* (Moscow, 1983), esp. 55–84; idem, *Istorija russkogo literaturnogo jazyka (XI–XVII vv.)*, Sagners Slavistiche Sammlung, 12 (Munich, 1987), esp. pp. 259–74; B. Struminsky (Strumins'kyj), "The Language Question in the Ukrainian Lands before the Nineteenth Century," in R. Picchio and H. Goldblatt, eds., *Aspects of the Slavic Language Question*, 2 vols., Yale Russian and East European Publications, 4 (New Haven, 1984), 2:9–47; D. Frick, "Meletij Smotryc'kyj and the Ruthenian Language Question," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 9 (1985):25–52; H. Goldblatt, "Orthodox Slavic Heritage and National Consciousness: Aspects of the East Slavic and South Slavic National Revivals," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 10 (1986): esp. 337–43; O. Nedeljković, "The Linguistic Dualism of Gavrilo Stefanović Venclović and 'Prosta Mova' in the Literature of the Orthodox Slavs," in *Studia Slavica Mediaevalia et Humanistica Riccardo Picchio dicata*, ed. M. Colucci, G. Dell'Agata, and H. Goldblatt (Rome, 1986), pp. 592–610.

12 On Vyšens'kyj's language beliefs, see B. Gröschel, *Die Sprache Ivan Vyšenśkyjs: Untersuchungen und Materialen zur historischen Grammatik des Ukrainische*, Slavistiche Forschungen, 13 (Cologne and Vienna, 1972), pp. 7–26; Robinson, *Bor'ba idej v russkoj literature*, pp. 319–36; Frick, "Meletius Smotricky," pp. 172–76. On the dubious notion of a "secular élite," which allegedly "did not attempt to resurrect Church Slavonic" but rather "quietly engaged in the production of a vernacular body of literature to replace the old, error-laden Bulgaro-Slavonic texts," see A. Sydorenko, *The Kievan Academy in the Seventeenth Century*, University of Ottawa Ukrainian Studies, 1 (Ottawa, 1977), pp. 6–8. For a discussion of Sydorenko's work within the tradition of Ukrainian historiography, see Sysyn, "Peter Mohyla and the Kiev Academy," pp. 158–60.

13 Piotr Skarga, *O jedności Kościoła Bożego pod jednym Pasterzem i o greckim od tej jedności odstąpieniu* (Vilnius, 1577). A revised version of the work appeared in print in Cracow in 1590 under the title *O rządzie i jedności Kościoła Bożego*. . . and was dedicated to the newly crowned King Sigismund III Vasa; this version was republished, also in Cracow, in 1610. Scholars generally accept the view that Vyšens'kyj's *Kratkoslovnyj otvît Feodula* and *Začapka mudraho latynika z hlupym rusinom* were written in direct response to the Athonite monk's acquaintance with the 1590 edition of Skarga's assault on the Ruthenian Orthodox heritage. On the impact (both direct and indirect) of Skarga's writings on Vyšens'kyj, see Tretiak, *Piotr Skarga*, pp. 233–87; Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij*, pp. 295–96, 316–25. For Skarga's arguments against the "Slavic language" ("język Słowieński") see part 3, section 5, of the work, as published in P. Gil'tebrandt, *Pamjatniki polemičeskoj literatury v zapadnoj Rusi*, vol. 2 (=Russkaja istoričeskaja biblioteka, 7) (St. Petersburg, 1882), cols. 482–88, esp. cols. 485–87. One should note that an evaluation of Skarga's comments on the Slavic language and Ruthenian Orthodox tradition should not be evaluated solely on the basis of the "fundamental differences" between the Polish Jesuit and the Athonite monk; cf. Peretc, "Ivan Višenskij i pol'skaja literatura." Indeed, as shall be shown below, it might be argued that Vyšens'kyj's statements on the language of the Liturgy in chapter 3 of the *Knyžka* do not oppose Skarga's views but, instead, seem to reflect in a number of ways the influence of the language beliefs held by the Polish Jesuit and other leading proponents of Counter-Reformation thought in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. For the purpose of the present study, it is also important to point out that in both his polemical treatise of 1577 and elsewhere (especially in his *Kazania o*

did many Ruthenian cultural activists—that, like Latin and Greek, the Slavic language had full dignity by virtue of its *grammaticality*.[14] He asserted, instead, that the Slavic tongue was a prestigious literary medium favored by God precisely because it lacked the "cunning" techniques characteristic of Greek and especially Latin.[15] These scholars further have pointed out that—in contrast with Ruthenian scholars, such as Smotryc'kyj, who aimed to establish a functional equivalence between, on the one hand, Latin and the Slavic language and, on the other hand, Polish and a Ruthenian vernacular standard—the Athonite monk apparently relied neither on the major sixteenth-century intellectual trends of Western Europe nor on the theories which echoed the ideological struggle between the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation.[16] Even those scholars who managed to detect in Ivan Vyšens'kyj's language beliefs, or in the language of his writings, at least a partial application of certain well-established theoretical principles have focused primarily on the impact of Protestant patterns of thought.[17] To sum up: although much has been made of

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siedmi sakramentach [Cracow, 1600]), Skarga's discussion of the Orthodox Ruthenian linguistic patrimony is intimately bound up with the issues of intelligibility and the language of the Liturgy: see D. Frick, *Polish Sacred Philology in the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation*, University of California Publications in Modern Philology, 123 (Berkeley, 1989), pp. 201–4.

14 See Martel, *La langue polonaise*, pp. 264–66; Mathiesen, "The Inflectional Morphology," pp. 55–60; Frick, "Meletij Smotryc'kyj," pp. 32–34. Cf. the comments on "the perfect grammatical Slavic language," in contradistinction to the "vulgar imperfect Polish writing," offered by Myxajlo Rahoza, Metropolitan of Kiev and Galicia, in an encyclical letter of 1592 praising the achievements of the Lviv Brotherhood: "*. . . učenie svjatyx'' pisanii zělo oskudě, pace že Slovenskoho Rossiiskaho jazyka, i vsi čelověci priložišasja prostomu nes''veršennomu Ljadskomu pisaniju, i seho radi v'' različnyja eresi vpadoša, ne věduščе v'' Bohoslovii sily s''veršennaho hrammatičeskaho Slovenskaho jazyka*" (cited after Mathiesen, "The Inflectional Morphology," p. 59).

15 See Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij*, esp. pp. 23–24, 171, 191–98. For a discussion of Vyšens'kyj's views on the nature and status of the Slavic language see Robinson, *Bor'ba idej v russkoj literature*, pp. 319–32.

16 This vision of Vyšens'kyj's "spontaneity," so important for Kuliš's definition of the Athonite monk as "prophet" and "apostle," was extended to the language of his writings as well. Here, too, Franko played a vital role in establishing an interpretative tradition according to which the writings attributed to Vyšens'kyj were compiled by a relatively "unlearned" person, were minimally dependent on any kind of language theories, and were largely guided by the author's "living feelings" coupled with popular usage: see Franko, *Ivan Vyšens'kyj*, pp. 209–10.

17 Since the end of the last century, scholars frequently have attributed the use of the "vulgar tongue" (*prostaja mova / prostyj jazyk*) or the "Ruthenian tongue" (*ruskyj jazyk / ruskyj dialekt*) by Vyšens'kyj and contemporary Ruthenian writers to the "fundamental Reformation belief" that the unique message of the divine Scriptures and the Liturgy be made accessible to "simple people" in an "intelligible language": see P. P. Pljušč, "Russkaja 'prostaja mova' na Ukraine v XVI–XVIII vekax," in *Načal'nyj ètap formirovanija russkogo nacional'nogo jazyka. Sbornik statej*, ed. B. A. Larin (Leningrad, 1961), pp. 219–36; idem, "Do pytannja pro

Vyšens'kyj's bitter polemic with the Counter-Reformation linguistic thought of Skarga and the Latin tradition championed by Polish polemicists, little attention has been focused on the possible influence of language policies elaborated by the post-Tridentine Catholic Church.

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Chapter 3 of Vyšens'kyj's *Knyžka* (The Book) contains the passage most frequently cited by scholars as emblematic of the Athonite monk's language beliefs:

Do not subvert the Gospel[18] and the Apostle[19] in the Church during the Liturgy with the vernacular tongue (*prostym jazykom*). But after the Liturgy, so that people might understand, explain and interpret them in a simple way (*poprostu*).[20]

In this terse yet precise statement on language usage, Vyšens'kyj makes two crucial points:

(1) *During the Liturgy* the Slavic language alone must be employed in the readings from the Gospel and the Epistle,[21] for the use of a vernacular tongue would subvert the Liturgy of the Word.[22]

(2) *After the Liturgy* the biblical lections must be "explained and interpreted"[23] in the vulgar tongue, so that people might understand.

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tak zvanu 'prostu movu' XVI–XVIII st. na Ukrajini," in *Pytannja istoryčnoho rozvytku ukrajins'koji movy*, ed. I. K. Bilodid (Kharkiv, 1962), pp. 91–96; Gröschel, *Die Sprache Ivan Vyšenškyjs*, pp. 12–14. Cf. Frick, "Meletij Smotryc'kyj," pp. 40–46.

18 I.e., the Gospel pericopes, which represent the high point and most solemn action in the Liturgy of the Catechumens.

19 I.e., the liturgical book containing the readings from the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles of the New Testament (particular St. Paul's Epistles). These lections are read before the Gospel pericopes.

20 *"Evanhelie i Apostola v cerkvi na liturhii prostym jazykom ne vyvoračajte. Po liturhii ž dlja zrozumenja ljudskoho poprostu tolkujte i vykladajte"* (Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij*, p. 23). All subsequent references to Vyšens'kyj's writings will rely on Eremin's 1955 edition; page numbers will be given in parentheses.

21 See fn. 19 above.

22 On the biblical lections and their place in the Liturgy, see V. Dolotskij, "O čtenii sv. pisanija pri bogosluženiju," *Xristianskoe čtenija* 24, no. 2 (1846): 145–60; K. T. Nikol'skij, *Obozrenie bogoslužebnyx knig po otnošeniju ix k cerkovnomu ustavu* (St. Petersburg, 1856); F. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, vol. 1, *Eastern Liturgies* (Oxford, 1965), pp. 36ff; I. Herwegen, *Die Heilige Schrift in der Liturgie der Kirche* (Berlin, 1931); M. Solovey, *The Byzantine Divine Liturgy. History and Commentary*, trans. D. Wysochansky (Washington, 1970), pp. 188–203; J. Mateos, *La célébration de la parole dans la liturgie byzantine*, Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 191 (Rome, 1971), pp. 110–41.

23 One should note that the imperative forms *tolkujte* and *vykladajte* appear to be more than mere synonyms in Vyšens'kyj's vocabulary; instead, they seem to refer to the two distinct actions of translation and explication connected with the sermon. In other words, the Athonite monk seems to suggest here that it is inappropriate to offer either a literal translation of the biblical readings or a commentary on them (in the vulgar tongue) immediately after chanting

Although this textual fragment has received a good deal of attention—especially by historians of the Ukrainian language—it is surprising that it rarely has been examined either as a *liturgical* solution that based itself on certain well-defined principles of language speculation or in the larger context of Vyšens'kyj's writings and against the full backdrop of cultural influences and counter-influences which characterized late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Ruthenian culture. The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate that, in defending the sacrality of the Slavic language and attempting to define precisely the limits of acceptability to be imposed on a Ruthenian vernacular, the Athonite monk might have relied on certain conceptual formulae and aspects of the language policies set forth at the Council of Trent and spread throughout the entire Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth by post-Tridentine Catholicism.

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Scholars often have ascribed Vyšens'kyj's exaltation of the Slavic language as a sacred tongue "most beloved of God,"[24] as well as his injunctions against the use of a Ruthenian vernacular, to the Athonite monk's "intolerant" and preeminently "medieval" Orthodox literary stance.[25] There is no question that in his writings Vyšens'kyj felt not only duty-bound to affirm the unique status of the Slavic tongue—for only it could offer believers salvation[26] —but also obliged to impose severe limitations on the

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the pericopes in the Slavic language, but that both acts are necessary "after the Liturgy." Cf. the patristic distinction (and at times synonymity) between "ὁμιλία" and "διδακή"/"διδασκαλία." Cf. also Pope John VIII's *Industriae tuae* addressed to Prince Svatopluk of Moravia (880): "Nec sanae fidei vel doctrinae aliquid obstat sive missas in eadem Sclavinica lingua canere sive sacrum evangelium vel lectiones divinas novi et veteris testamenti *bene translatas et interpretatas* legere aut alia horarum officia omnia psallere. . ." (F. Grivec and F. Tomšič, eds., *Constantinus et Methodius Thessalonicenses, Fontes* [= Radovi Staroslavenskog Instituta, 4] [Zagreb, 1960], p. 73). On the parallels between Vyšens'kyj's formulation in chapter 3 of the *Knyžka* and the language policy of the Roman curia in the Cyrillo-Methodian period, see fn. 34 below. As shall be shown below, the issue of defining the sermon as both "translation" and "commentary" is an important item of discussion at the Council of Trent. On the use of the designation "wykład" (as well as its derivatives) and other terms in regard to the "translation" and "interpretation" of the Bible in Poland during the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, see Frick, *Polish Sacred Philology*, pp. 1, 251–52.

24 *"Ato dlja toho diavol na slovenskij jazyk borbu tuju maet, zane ž est plodonosnĭjšij ot vsĭx jazykov i bohu ljubimšij"* (23).

25 Indeed, Vyšens'kyj's authority as an apologist for Orthodoxy is sometimes presented as one of the principal obstacles to the emergence of a national Ukrainian language in the period of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation: see O. Pritsak and J. Reshetar, "Ukraine and the Dialectics of Nation-Building," *Slavic Review* 22, no. 2 (1963): 7–8. Cf. Sydorenko, *The Kievan Academy*, pp. 6–8.

26 In chapter 3 of the *Knyžka*, immediately after his comments on the Liturgy, Vyšens'kyj

possible application of a vernacular tongue during the liturgical service.[27] Nevertheless, it would be a serious error to underestimate the significance Vyšens'kyj attached to the use of a "common language" *after* the Liturgy. In his opinion, the vernacular not only could but *had* to be utilized in the service of "explication and interpretation" so that "the people might understand." The Athonite monk thus proposed a function for a Ruthenian vernacular which appears to reflect an attitude typical of much of Ruthenian literature from the middle of the sixteenth century onwards.[28]

It is important to stress that in his writings, always offered in polemical opposition to alternative positions, Vyšens'kyj was especially preoccupied with the problem of audience capability and intelligibility. On the basis of Christian doctrine, he sought to ensure that his epistles would break down the notion of a divided (i.e., learned *versus* unlearned) humanity and, more specifically, that even "simple and unlettered listeners" would have the possibility to grasp the message of truth contained in the *Knyžka*.[29] One should

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offers a defence of the Slavic tongue which appears to rely on longstanding beliefs regarding the sacrality and inspired origins of the language of the Slavs. Indeed, there are cogent reasons to suggest that the Athonite monk might have drawn upon an Orthodox Slavic theory of verbal expression which appears to have crystallized in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries under the impact of the Hesychast spiritual revival. (On the close link between devotional practice and language speculation in Hesychast teachings, see H. Goldblatt, *Orthography and Orthodoxy: Constantine Kostenečki's Treatise on the Letters*, Studia Historica et Philologica, 16 [Florence, 1987], esp. pp. 3–9, 347–50.) According to Vyšens'kyj, the Slavic language represents not only the perfect language of revelation—standing in sharp contradistinction to the imperfect language of man—but also the very essence of a spiritual tradition, for it is the instrument of salvation against which the devil is directing his entire struggle: see fn. 24 above. One should recall, in this regard, that in the introduction to his *Knyžka*, the Athonite monk asserts that the primary impulse behind the writing of the book resided in his obligation to expose falsity for the salvation of human souls in Rus': *"Posylaju vam terminu o lži, kotoraja nad istinnoju u vašej zemli carstvuet. . . . Siju že terminu, načisto prevedši, i inšim vsîm znati o tom dajte, ponež ne o lyčko ili o remenec idet, ale o cîluju kožu, se est o spasenie duš našix i da ne pohibnem i dočasne i vîčne ot Boha živa"* (7–8).

27 Or, more specifically, that the vernacular could not be employed until *after* the Orthodox faithful had participated in the Eucharist.

28 Here one might mention works, such as the *Peresopnycja Gospel* (1556–61), the Ruthenian *Cathechism* of Szymon Budny (1562), the *Lexicons* of Lavrentij Zyzanij (1596) and Pamvo Berynda (1627), and the *Homilary Gospel* of Meletij Smotryc'kyj (1616), all of which seek to emphasize the importance of using a Ruthenian vernacular by virtue of its "intelligibility" for "simple people": see Martel, *La langue polonaise*, pp. 76–97; Frick, "Meletij Smotryc'kyj," pp. 40–46.

29 See Vyšens'kyj's comments, in the first preface to the *Knyžka*, on the best way to read his work: *"Pr''v''e ubo da budet pročitatel iskusen. . . aby i prostym bezknižnym sluxačom razum rečenyx javljen i v''mîsten byl"* (9). Cf. Smotryc'kyj's definition of the duty of every preacher, as presented in the preface to his Homilary Gospel: *"Khdyž to est'' každoho Xristianskoho Kaznodîi povinnost. . . voli i prikazanjam Bozskim prostyx i neukix ljudej učiti"* (cited after Frick, "Meletij Smotryc'kyj," p. 44).

not forget that for Vyšens'kyj the correspondence between "simplicity" and "illiteracy" was intimately bound up with the gift of apostleship.[30] In other words, according to the Athonite monk, only the use of an "apostolic" dialect could help all strata of society, even "simple people," emerge from their functional "spiritual infancy" and prepare them for participation in a more dignified medium—that is, the Slavic language—which had been illuminated by theology and which could lead them to salvation through its use in the most sacred parts of the divine service.[31]

Hence, Ivan Vyšens'kyj's remarks on the language of the Liturgy in chapter 3 of the *Knyžka* aimed to serve two very important purposes which might underscore the distinction of sacred and apostolic media: first, the Athonite monk was spiritually bound to defend the sacrality of the Slavic language and its exclusive role in the divine service; second, he was obliged

[30] See Acts 4: 13: "Now when they saw the boldness of Peter and John, and perceived that they were *unlettered and common* ("ἀγράμματοι καὶ ἰδιῶται" / "*neknizhna i prosta*") men, they wondered; and they recognized that they had been with Jesus." Significant here is that, in accordance with the apostolic model, the coupling of "simplicity" and "illiteracy" betrays a topos which reflects the traditional teaching of the Church regarding the necessity of using vernacular tongues for the purpose of preaching and missionary activity. See Picchio, "Questione della lingua," pp. 34–63; idem, "Il posto della letteratura bulgara antica nella cultura europea del medio evo," *Ricerche Slavistiche* 27–28 (1980–1981): 37–64; idem, "Literaturni i ezikovi aspekti na starobălgarskata tradicija," in *Vtori mezhdunarodni kongres po bălgaristika, Sofija, 23 maj–3 juni 1986. Plenarni dokladi* (Sofia, 1986), vol. 1, pp. 79–101.

[31] In chapter 3 of the *Knyžka*, in his celebrated exaltation of the monastic way of life (25–44), Vyšens'kyj alludes to the role of the vernacular as a missionary and instructive medium. In particular, the Athonite monk explains here that, as St. Paul had been compelled to do at Corinth (1 Cor. 3: 1–9), so he, too, in an age of dissension and disbelief, was required to offer to his public—that is, the "spiritual infants of Rus' "—"milk, not solid food" (38–39). It is noteworthy that the identical image drawn from St. Paul was used by Cardinal Caesar Baronius, the most authoritative historian of the Catholic Counter-Reformation, to justify the use of a Slavic tongue as an apostolic dialect in the mission to Great Moravia: ". . . ita natam recens Ecclesiam *lacte nutriens parvolorum*. . . fore ut Moraviensis Ecclesia Matris ex qua genita est lingua perfecte loquutura esset" (cited after Picchio, "Literaturni i ezikovi aspekti," p. 93). (See R. Picchio, "La Bulgaria nella storia ecclesiastica del Baronio," in *Per Valdo Zilli*, ed. S. Bertolissi [Rome, 1986], pp. 41–52.) For a similar image employed at the Council of Trent, in reference to the vulgar tongue as an instrument of explication during the Mass, see Chapter VIII of Session XXII (17 September 1562): "Quamobrem,. . . ne oves Christi esuriant, *ne parvuli panem petant et non sit qui frangat eis* [Lam. 4.4]: mandat s. Synodus pastoribus et singulis curam animarum gerentibus, ut frequenter inter missarum celebrationem vel per se vel per alios ex his, quae in messa leguntur, aliquid exponant, atque inter cetera Smi. huius Sacrificii mysterium aliquod declarent. . ." (*Concilium Tridentinum: Diariorum, Actorum, Epistularum, Tractatuum nova collectio* [Freiburg, 1901-], vol. 8, p. 961.) All subsequent references to the acts and deliberations of the Council of Trent will rely, where possible, on the volumes of this edition. The first number will refer to the volume; the second numeral will give the page.

to confirm the rightful place of the vulgar tongue as an apostolic instrument of instruction and explication.

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There is little doubt that in chapter 3 of the *Knyžka* Vyšens'kyj sought to expound a message which was in complete accord with the dogmatic teachings of Orthodox Christendom. It is no less true that not only Vyšens'kyj's views on the Slavic language and a Ruthenian vernacular but also those of contemporary Ruthenian writers (both Orthodox and Uniate) living in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, such as Smotryc'kyj and Josafat Kuncevyč, most certainly expressed an attempt to reflect the traditional teaching of the Church regarding the use of sacred and apostolic languages.

It is noteworthy, in this regard, that the Athonite monk's particular admonitions about the Slavic language—as well as his opposition to the presence of the vulgar tongue in the Liturgy together with an insistence on its use *after* the reading of the liturgical texts—are highly reminiscent of the position concerning Latin and a Slavic vernacular taken by the Roman Church during the "Cyrillo-Methodian language controversy." As Riccardo Picchio clearly has shown, the papal letters connected with the Moravian mission not only presented a consistent policy on the use of the sacred media such as Latin and Greek in relation to a Slavic "apostolic" dialect but also appear to have offered conceptual formulae and a specific terminology sanctioned by the theoretical and practical tradition of the Eastern and Western churches.[32] Picchio has drawn particular attention, in the epistles sent by Popes John VIII and Stephen V, to the crucial distinction made in regard to the Mass between the sacred formulae of the divine Mysteries, which could be chanted by no one but the priest and consequently only in Latin, and the ceremonial portions which included the legitimate participation of laymen in liturgical functions and therefore could be chanted in a Slavic vulgar tongue. The Roman curia did not oppose the use of the Slavic

[32] Picchio, "Questione della lingua"; idem, "Il posto della letteratura bulgara"; idem, "Lingua d'apostolato e lingua liturgica nella chiesa latina e nel Primo impero bulgaro," in *Atti dell'8° Congresso internazionale di studi sull'alto Medioevo, Spoleto, 3–6 novembre, 1981* (Spoleto, 1983), pp. 269–79. Picchio has examined the "Cyrillo-Methodian language question" not only within the general context of the traditional language policies of the Church but also specifically against the background of the attitudes held by the Roman Church towards the use of vulgar tongues in the ninth century. See, in this regard, the formulation of the bishops at the Council of Tours (813), who expressly demanded the translation of homilies into the language of simple people: "ut easdem omelias quisque aperte transferre studeat in rusticam romanam linguam aut thiotiscam, quo facilius cuncti possint intelligere quae dicuntur" (J. D. Mansi, ed., *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, 53 vols. in 60 [Paris, 1901–27], 14:85, can. 17).

tongue during the Mass,[33] but could not sanction its use either in the celebration of the sacred Mysteries and divine offices or in the chanting of the biblical lections before (or to the exclusion of) the Latin readings; in other words, Rome could not accept the notion of Slavic as a sacral language.[34]

However revealing we might find the similarities in phrasing between Vyšens'kyj's statements on the use of the Slavic language and the vulgar tongue and the language policy of the Roman curia formulated in regard to the Cyrillo-Methodian mission, they do not provide us with any concrete information on the particular source for Vyšens'kyj's language beliefs. It is appropriate first of all to ask whether—and if so, to what extent—the Athonite monk's precise formulation in chapter 3 of the *Knyžka* might have drawn upon a particular source in the Orthodox Slavic cultural heritage. There is no question that, from the establishment of the Slavic Church in Bulgaria under Boris and Symeon, a nascent Orthodox Slavic tradition of

[33] As shall be seen, the issue of where—if at all—the vulgar tongue can be employed during the Mass is of critical importance not only to the Orthodox monk Ivan Vyšens'kyj but also to the participants in the deliberations at the Council of Trent.

[34] It is important to emphasize that the fundamental opposition of sacred language (i.e., Latin), to be employed in the celebration of the Mysteries, and apostolic "dialect" (i.e., Slavic), to be used so that instruction be made accessible to all who cannot understand Latin, is expressed not only in the epistles which have been identified by scholars as hostile to the Slavic Liturgy, such as John VIII's epistle to Methodius (879), Stephen V's epistle to Prince Svatopluk (885), and the *Commonitorium* for the papal envoys John and Stephen (885), but also in documents regarded as supportive of celebrating the Mass in the Slavic language, such as Hadrian II's letter to Princes Rostislav, Svatopluk, and Kocel (869), and John VIII's celebrated *Industriae tuae* addressed to Prince Svatopluk (880): see Picchio, "Il posto della letteratura bulgara." Significantly, moreover, in both groups of letters one finds admonitions about the use of the sacred language which are not limited to the Eucharist but refer also to the Liturgy of the Word, that is the biblical lections, and thereby are strikingly similar to Vyšens'kyj's remarks in phrasing and intent. Thus, on the one hand, Pope John's oft-cited "defence of the Slavic Liturgy" is equally insistent that the Gospel be chanted in Slavic only *after* the Latin text be read: "Iubemus tamen, ut in omnibus ecclesiis terrae vestrae propter maiorem honorificentiam evangelium Latine legatur *et postmodum Sclavinica lingua translatum in auribus populi Latina verba non intelligentis adnuntietur*" (Grivec and Tomšič, *Constantinus et Methodius*, p. 73). On the other hand, Pope Stephen V's alleged "prohibition of the Slavic Liturgy" is highly reminiscent of Vyšens'kyj's rigid liturgical distinction between the sacred language and the vulgar tongue: "Divina autem officia et sacra mysteria ac missarum solemnia... nullo modo deinceps a quolibet praesumatur... excepto quod *ad simplicis populi et non intelligentis aedificationem attinet, si evangelii vel apostoli expositio ab eruditis eadem lingua* [i.e., in the Slavic language] *annuntietur*, et largimur et exhortamur et ut frequentissime fiat monemus, ut omnis lingua laudet Deum et confiteatur ei" (Grivec and Tomšič, *Constantinus et Methodius*, p. 77). The phrasing of Pope Stephen's *Commonitorium* is even closer to what we find in chapter 3 of the *Knyžka*: "Missas et sacratissima illa ministeria... ne aliquo modo praesumatur, penitus interdicit. Verumtamen si aliquis Sclavorum lingua tam doctus invenitur, ut *post sacratissimam evangelicam apostolicam lectionem eius explicationem doctus sit dicere ad aedificationem eorum, qui non intelligunt*, et laudat, si fiat, et concedit et approbat" (Grivec and Tomšič, *Constantinus et Methodius*, p. 75).

language speculation appears to have stressed both the apostolic and sacred aspects of the Slavic linguistic patrimony.[35] In regard to the apostolic component it is essential to remember that the very legitimacy of the Slavic tongue seems to have been grounded in its function as an instrument for explication and popular preaching in accordance with the Pauline spirit extolled by both the Latin and Greek Churches. As Picchio has pointed out, Prince Rostislav's celebrated appeal to the Byzantine emperor in chapter 5 of the *Vita Methodii*—". . . but we Slavs are a simple people (*prosta čad'*) and there is no one among us who could instruct us in the truth and give us knowledge"[36] —may have sought to underscore reliance on language principles invoked by both Churches with regard to the use of apostolic "dialects."[37]

In subsequent periods, the apostolic "simplicity" (*prostota*) of the Slavic language frequently would be opposed to the "stratagems" (*xytrosti*) of Hellenic instruction.[38] The topical affirmation of the Slavic language as an illuminating instrument of interpretation revealed in the age of Grace is a recurrent motif in many East Slavic and South Slavic texts.[39] Nonetheless, in the history of Orthodox Slavic language speculation prior to the time of Ivan Vyšens'kyj and the concurrent ideological struggle between the Refor-

[35] See Picchio, "Literaturni i ezikovi aspekti."

[36] ". . . *a my Sloveni prosta čad' i ne imam'', iže by ny nastavil'' na istinnou i razoum'' s''kazal''*" (P. A. Lavrov, *Materialy po istorii vozniknovenija drevnejšej slavjankoj pis'mennosti*, Slavistic Printings and Reprintings, 57 [The Hague and Paris, 1966], p 72).

[37] "In particular, the formula *prosta čad'* conforms to the definition of the 'simple people' (*vulgus plebs*) which was employed by the Roman Church in that period for apostolic activity. Indeed, it does not seem unreasonable to translate the Slavic *prosta čad'* with the Latin expression *simplex populus* used by Pope Stephen V in his epistle to Methodius [see fn. 34 above]" (Picchio, "Il posto della letteratura bulgara," p. 24). Cf. G. Y. Shevelov, "*Prosta čad'* and *Prostaja mova*," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 12/13 (1988/1989): 593–624.

[38] On the topical condemnation of "pagan craft" and equally topical affirmation of "Christian simplicity," which can be found in the writings of many Orthodox Slavic writers—including Ivan Vyšens'kyj (10)—up to the time of Archpriest Avvakum (among the East Slavs) and Paisii Hilendarski (among the Balkan Slavs), see R. Picchio, "L''intreccio delle parole' e gli stili letterari presso gli Slavi ortodossi nel tardo Medio Evo," in *Studi slavistici in ricordo di Carlo Verdiani*, ed. A. M. Raffo (Pisa, 1979), pp. 245–62; Robinson, *Bor'ba idej v russkoj literature*, pp. 319–41; G. Dell'Agata, "The Bulgarian Language Question from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century," in Picchio and Goldblatt, *Aspects of the Slavic Language Question*, 1: 161–62; B. A. Uspenskij, "Otnošenie k grammatike i ritorike," in *Literatura i iskusstvo v sisteme kul'tury* (Moscow, 1988), pp. 208–24.

[39] I.e., the inspired books, such as the *Nomocanon*, which previously had been obfuscated by the "cloud of wisdom" (*oblakom' premoudrosti*) of the Greek language, now—because they "had been made intelligible" (*rekše istlokovany*) through the Slavic language—could dispel the darkness of ignorance and bring forth the light of knowledge: see Lj. Stojanović, *Stari srpski zapisi i natpisi*, vol. 1 (Belgrade, 1902), pp. 7–8, 17; E. Mel'nikov, "Vyskazyvanija o russkom i slavjanskom jazyke i bor'ba s inostrannymi slovami v drevnej Rusi (XI–XVII v.)," *Slavia. Časopis pro slovanskou filologii* 22 (1953): 577.

mation and the Counter-Reformation, the doctrine of apostolic simplicity, while extremely important, remained the exclusive property of the sacred Slavic tongue and totally separate from vernacular language. In particular, the Orthodox Slavic theory of verbal expression, which appears to have crystallized in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries under the impact of the Hesychast spiritual revival and which undoubtedly was influenced by the resurgence of Atticism as well as the heightened philological concerns characteristic of fourteenth-century Byzantine culture, could hardly have identified the positive values of apostolic simplicity with a level of verbal expression (i.e., the "common tongue") that remained entirely beyond the bounds of the linguistic patrimony of Orthodox Slavdom.[40] Sustained by a vision of Greco-Slavic spiritual unity and cognizant of those Greek-speaking monks and churchmen who questioned the ability of the Slavic language to render the conceptual subtleties of Christian doctrine, Orthodox Slavic writers from fourteenth-century Trnovo to sixteenth-century Muscovy do not appear to have focused on the link between apostolic simplicity and the vulgar tongue.[41] In seeking to establish an even more rigid distinction between sacred and profane, they do not seem to have insisted that a *prostyj jazyk* be used as an apostolic instrument of interpretation and explication.[42] Thus, although Vyšens'kyj was no doubt aware of the importance attached to the apostolic and sacred components in Orthodox Slavic speculation, it is unlikely that the Athonite monk relied on a particular Orthodox Slavic language model for the functional relationship between the Slavic tongue and the vernacular which he offered in chapter 3 of the *Knyžka* in defence of the Christian spiritual heritage.

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If the formulaic comments offered in chapter 3 of the *Knyžka* were not entirely shaped by patterns of thought connected with a tradition of Orthodox Slavic language speculation, it is reasonable to assume that, like contemporary Ruthenian writers (whether Orthodox or Uniate), such as Smotryc'kyj and Kuncevyč, Vyšens'kyj may have been influenced in his language beliefs by the ideological conflict between the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation as it evolved in the lands of the multinational Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In this regard, it is important to recall not only the impact of Vyšens'kyj's early years in Sudova Vyšnja (Sądowa

40 See Goldblatt, *Orthography and Orthodoxy*, pp. 222, n. 16, 231, n. 2, and 252–53.

41 Goldblatt, *Orthography and Orthodoxy*, pp. 350–60.

42 See Uspenskij, *Jazykovaja situacija Kievskoj Rusi*, pp. 55–64.

Wisznia), where the dietine of the Ruthenian palatinate sometimes convened,[43] but also—and perhaps even more significant—the Athonite monk's references in his writings to his years in Luc'k, where—as he put it—he had encountered at least one leading representative of the Catholic clergy and had been exposed to the sweet temptations of Latin rhetoric.[44] Nor should we forget that, even after he had embraced the contemplative life on Mt. Athos, Vyšens'kyj continued to follow closely events in the Ruthenian lands.[45] Finally, we should remember that his reputation for erudition among the Athonite monks was such that he was entrusted with the difficult task of responding to Skarga's polemical treatise, *On the Administration and Unity of God's Church under One Shepherd*, which had been reissued in Cracow in 1590.[46]

Notwithstanding the position taken by some scholars since the end of the nineteenth century,[47] it seems probable that Vyšens'kyj's language beliefs were conditioned not by Protestant trends but by the policies of the post-Tridentine Catholic Church. While it is true that the motive of intelligibility, found in numerous texts from the middle of the sixteenth century to justify the use of a Ruthenian vernacular for homiletic and polemical purposes,[48] may indeed reflect the ideological schemes of the Protestant Reformation, it is only in Counter-Reformation ideas—as formulated at the Council of Trent and elaborated in the lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Common-

43 See fn. 8 above.

44 The passage in question is to be found in the second preface to the *Kratkoslovnyj otvît Feodula: "I ja bo nîkohda vo toj probî byl i sam svoim sluxom latynskoho oratora svîdčil. Dlja čeho krotko, tixo xočju pripomniti. . .to, čto latynskij orator, dostojnstvom sana mistr, imîl družbu so mnoju v Lucku i ne utail tîlesnoe požadlivosti predo mnoju, kotoroju zvitjažen byl, ato kak bluda ot cnotlivye devicy pragnul i ne mohl povabkami toho sebî zednati. . .rîč'mi sladkimi i besîdami prel'stil devicu i tîm slovesnym poxlîbstvom cnotu devicy vedome ukral"* (135). On the basis of his examination of chapter 5 of the *Knyžka*, Franko concluded that Vyšens'kyj was well acquainted with not only Kyrylo Terlec'kyj, Bishop of Luc'k, and his entourage but also Dionysij Zbirujs'kyj, Bishop of Xol'm (Franko, "Ioann Višenskij," pp. 323–24). One should note, in this regard, that a number of scholars also have indicated that Vyšens'kyj was active in the Greco-Slavic-Latin academy founded in Ostrih by Prince Konstantyn Ostroz'kyj. However, Vyšens'kyj's participation in the work of the academy remains far from certain: see Kryms'kyj, "Ioann Višenskij," pp. 388–90.

45 Indeed, all of Vyšens'kyj's extant writings were written on Mt. Athos in conscious response to a particular crisis or perceived ordeal in Rus'. One should not forget that for Vyšens'kyj, in accordance with what he regarded as the basic tenets of Orthodox spirituality, ascetic detachment and concern for self-perfection in no way minimized the *apostolic* and *prophetic* roles of the monks in Christian society. Cf J. Meyendorff, *A Study of Gregory Palamas* (London, 1964), pp. 198–201; idem, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia. A Study of Byzantino-Russian Relations in the Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 108–12.

46 See Eremin, *Ivan Višenskij*, pp. 316–20. See also fn. 13 above.

47 See fn. 17 above.

48 See fn. 28 above.

wealth—that the Athonite monk could have found a clear exposition which contained the traditional teaching of the Church regarding the use of sacred and apostolic languages. In other words, in the Tridentine language principles, which were quickly transmitted to Poland and affirmed in the writings of leading proponents of Counter-Reformation thought, Vyšens'kyj could have discovered not only an affirmation of the uniqueness of a sacred medium but also a rigid opposition to the *indiscriminate*[49] use of the vernacular coupled with an insistence that it be employed to ensure the intelligibility of Christian teachings for "simple people." Indeed, it is not surprising that the linguistic proscriptions set down by the Uniate archbishop of Polatsk Josafat Kuncevyč are closest to the phrasing and intent of the Athonite monk.[50] The fact is that in the age of the Counter-Reformation, Vyšens'kyj and Kuncevyč, for all their differences, manifested a similar concern for reform based above all on the restoration of a traditional spirituality, an essential component of which resided in the proper use of language in the Liturgy.[51]

* * *

At the Council of Trent, which met in a series of thirty-five sessions intermittently between 1545 and 1563, the Roman Catholic Church sought to react to all aspects of Reformation teaching, especially in its most radical forms.[52] In the participants' defence of an ecclesiastical hierarchy which served as the mediator for God's saving Grace through the sacraments, no topic was of greater importance than that of the Eucharist. One should note, in this regard, that all stages in the crucial discussions on the real presence and the Sacrifice of the Mass could be distinguished but not separated from the "language question," that is, the debates on the nature of and the rela-

49 See fns. 56 and 61 below.

50 See Kuncevyč's instructions for Uniate priests: *"Khdy tež'' čitajut'' Evanhelie, albo jakuju molitvu v holos abo ektenii, ne majut vykladat slovenskix slov'' po rusku, ale tak čitati jako napisano. Učitannoe zas Evanhelie abo žitie styx čitajuči ljudem, mohut vykladati"* (cited after Martel, *La langue polonaise*, p. 99).

51 Recent studies by Sister Sophia Senyk, offered in deliberate reaction to certain well-entrenched historiographic clichés, convincingly have demonstrated the importance of Hesychast devotional practices (in their Muscovite version) for Kuncevyč's spirituality (S. Senyk, "The Sources of the Spirituality of St. Josaphat Kuncevych," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 51 [1985]: 425–36).

52 For an excellent treatment of the principal doctrinal issues dealt with at the Council of Trent, see J. Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition. A History of the Development of Doctrine*, vol. 4, *Reformation of Church and Dogma (1300–1700)* (Chicago and London, 1983), pp. 245–303.

tionship between Latin and the vulgar tongues.[53] Indeed, after Session IV (8 April 1546) of the Council, which dealt with the need to define the relative authority of Church and Scripture as well as the status of the Vulgate and vernacular translations of the Bible,[54] the problem of the vulgar tongue exclusively was bound up with the issue of the Liturgy.

The most detailed inquiry into the question of liturgical language at the Council of Trent is to be found in the rulings handed down by Session XXII (17 September 1562), entitled "On the Sacrifice of the Mass." In particular, the relation between Latin and the vulgar tongue in the Liturgy was treated most fully in Chapter VIII of Session XXII, which aimed to elucidate the twofold function of the Mass as both Sacrifice and instruction: in other words, the chapter sought to affirm not only that "the Mass may not be celebrated in the vernacular," but also that "its Mysteries are to be explained to the people":[55]

Though the Mass contains much instruction for the faithful, it has, nevertheless, not been deemed advisable by the Fathers that it should be celebrated indiscriminately in the vernacular tongue. Wherefore, the ancient rite of each Church, approved by the holy Roman Church. . . being everywhere maintained, that the sheep of Christ may

[53] It should be noted that the present study is a logical outgrowth of previous research devoted to Slavic "language questions" carried out in both Italy and the United States under the direction of Riccardo Picchio. See Picchio, *Studi sulla Question della lingua presso gli Slavi*; Picchio and Goldblatt, *Aspects of the Slavic Language Question*; H. Goldblatt, "The Language Question and the Emergence of Slavic National Languages," in *The Emergence of National Languages*, ed. A. Scaglione (Ravenna, 1984), pp. 119–73; Frick, "Meletij Smotryc'kyj." On the language debates which took place at the Council of Trent, see, *inter alia*, H. Schmidt, *Liturgie et langue vulgarie. Le problème de la langue liturgique chez les premiers Réformateurs et au Concile de Trente*, Analecta Gregoriana, 53 (Rome, 1950); J. Froger, "Le concile de Trente a-t-il prescrit de donner des explications en langue vulgaire pendant les cérémonies liturgiques?," *Ephemerides liturgicae* 73 (1959): 81–115, 161–205; A. De Marco, *Rome and the Vernacular* (Westminister, Md., 1961), pp. 93–140; R. Theisen, *Mass Liturgy and the Council of Trent* (Collegeville, Minn., 1963); L. Lentner, *Volkssprache und Sakralsprache. Geschichte einer Lebensfrage bis zum Ende des Konzils von Trient*, Wiener Beiträge zur Theologie, 5 (Vienna, 1964), pp. 197–305.

[54] On Protestant arguments defending the translation of the Holy Scriptures into the vulgar tongue as well as the deliberations of Catholic theologians—carried out in conscious reaction to the Protestant programs—which led to the decrees adopted at Session IV of the Council, see Schmidt, *Liturgie et langue vulgarie*, pp. 23–95. One should note that in the discussions on vernacular translations, the issue of the Slavic Scriptures, and the part allegedly played by St. Jerome in their creation, was raised by Thomas Campeggius, Bishop of Feltre (Schmidt, *Liturgie et langue vulgaire*, pp. 82–83). Yet even here the justification for translating the Bible into the vulgar tongue was presented in *liturgical* terms: "Nec etiam abusum habendum censeo, quod sacri libri vernacula lingua legantur, cum divus Hieronymus Illyrico idiomate missam ediderit, cuius usum permisit ecclesia Illyricis" (*Conc. Trid.* 1: 503).

[55] "Caput octavum. Missa vulgari lingua non celebretur, eius mysteria populo explicentur" (*Conc. Trid.* 8: 961).

not suffer hunger,... the holy council commands pastors and all who have the care of souls that they... explain frequently during the celebration of the Mass some of the things read during the Mass, and that among other things they explain some Mystery of this most holy sacrifice, especially on Sundays and festival days.[56]

One can detect in the decrees of Session XXII four important points which appear to have been equally decisive in the structures of Vyšens'kyj's thought:[57]

(1) While it is true that the Mass contains instruction, it is in essence a Sacrifice. For this reason, the Mass may not be celebrated in the vulgar tongue.[58]

(2) At the same time, the Church is obliged to use the vernacular for the purpose of explaining the Mysteries to the people.[59]

(3) The use of the vulgar tongue is linked with a particular function and place in the celebration of the Mass.[60]

(4) The vernacular must be employed in accordance with the authority of the Church.[61]

The decrees promulgated at Session XXII of the Council represent an outgrowth of two long series of deliberations which followed Session XIV (25 November 1551) and Session XXI (16 July 1562).[62] One should note

[56] English translation partially cited after H. J. Schroeder, *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* (St. Louis and London, 1941), p. 148. "Etsi missa magnam contineat populi fidelis eruditionem, non tamen expedire visum est patribus, ut vulgari passim lingua celebraretur. Quamobrem, retento ubique cuiusque ecclesiae antiquo et a sancta Romana ecclesia... probato ritu, ne oves Christi esuriant...: mandat s. Synodus pastoribus et singulis curam animarum gerentibus, ut frequenter inter missarum celebrationem vel per se vel per alios, ex his, quae in missa leguntur, aliquid exponant atque inter cetera Smi. huius Sacrificii mysterium aliquod declarent, diebus praesertim Dominicis et festis" (*Conc. Trid.* 8:961).

[57] Obviously, our intention at this point is not to suggest any *direct influence* but rather to elucidate certain analogies or parallels between the deliberations and decrees adopted at the Council of Trent and Ivan Vyšens'kyj's mode of thought.

[58] Or, more specifically, there are parts of the Mass which cannot be chanted in the vulgar tongue. See, in this regard, Canon IX of Session XXII: "Si quis dixerit... lingua *tantum* vulgari missam celebrari debere,... anathema sit" (*Conc. Trid.* 8:962). On the use in Canon IX of the crucial word *tantum* (rather than *nonnisi*), see De Marco, *Rome and the Vernacular*, esp. pp. 127–30.

[59] Cf. the title to Chapter VII of Session XXIV ("De Reformatione"): "Sacramentorum virtus, antequam populo administrentur ab episcopis et parochis explicetur. Inter missarum solemnia sacrae paginae explanentur" (*Conc. Trid.* 9:981).

[60] I.e., the sermon (or homily) is to be delivered in the vulgar tongue *after* the chanting of the biblical lections but *before* the Mystery of the Eucharist. One should note, however, that the exact position of the sermon during the Mass remained an objection of contention at the Council. On the meaning of the phrases "inter missarum celebrationem" (Session XXII) and "inter missarum sollemnia" (Session XXIV), as well as the Tridentine deliberations on the place of the sermon, see Froger, "Le Concile de Trente," esp. 162–64, 186–89.

[61] See Froger, "Le Concile de Trente," pp. 178–83.

[62] For the relevant texts, see Froger, "Le Concile de Trente," pp. 95–115. Froger has remind-

that both in the earlier phase of these preparatory deliberations (3 December 1551–24 January 1552),[63] as well as in the discussions that took place more than a decade later (19 July–16 September 1562),[64] a starting point was offered by ten "articles" (that is, programmatic statements) taken from Protestant doctrine, submitted on 3 December 1551, which were prepared for examination by theologians at the Council precisely because they most clearly and forcefully rejected the sacrificial character of the Mass and the sacrament of Orders.[65] Of particular interest for both series of deliberations is Article IX, which dealt with the problem of the vernacular language in relation to the Protestant notion that, because the Mass was only a memorial and instruction for the faithful, and not the Sacrifice of the Cross, it must, by virtue of its essence, be intelligible to the commonality:

The rite of the Roman Church. . . must be condemned; and the Mass must be celebrated only in the vernacular, so that everyone understand; and to attribute certain masses to certain Saints is a fabrication.[66]

In response to the Protestant tenet that the Mass must be celebrated "in the vernacular only,"[67] many participants at the Council of Trent, in both series of discussions, sought to stress the vital and unique role that Latin had to play in the liturgical service. For a good number of distinguished theologians at the Council, such as Josse Ravesteyn and Bartholomaeus de Miranda, the special status granted to Latin was based on a twofold distinction in the Mass: in other words, in one part of the Liturgy—more specifically, in the "type of functions and ministries which are performed by the priest himself"[68] —only a sublime language and "sacred instrument"

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ed us to distinguish carefully between the preparatory deliberations of the fathers and the definitive decrees adopted at the Council (p. 92).

63 See Schmidt, *Liturgie et langue vulgaire*, pp. 97–119.

64 Schmidt, *Liturgie et langue vulgaire*, pp. 119–51.

65 Schmidt, *Liturgie et langue vulgaire*, pp. 97–100.

66 "Ecclesiae romanae ritum. . . damnandum esse; missamque non nisi in lingua vulgari, quam omnes intelligant, celebrari debere; imposturamque esse, certas missas certis sanctis attribuere" (*Conc. Trid.* 7:377). On the relevant texts of Protestant theologians, such as Martin Luther and John Calvin, and their claim that the vernacular is essential to the nature of the Liturgy, see Froger, "Le Concile de Trente," esp. pp. 93–94; De Marco, *Rome and the Vernacular*, pp. 93–100.

67 See fn. 58 above.

68 "Considerandum igitur duplex esse, quod ad propositum negotium pertinet, genus officiorum quae in ecclesia apud populum celebrantur, unum quod cum populo agitur ad eius exhortationem, consolationem et aedificationem, atque hoc certe in ea omnino lingua fieri convenit, quam populus intelligit, alioqui quam aedificationem et exhortionem accipere posset populus, qui sermonem exhortatiorum et aedificatorium sermonem proponi populo in ea lingua quam non intelligit?. . . Alterum est genus officiorum et ministeriorum, quae ab ipso sacerdote tanquam populi intercessore et advocato apud Dominum Deum aguntur inter Deum et sacerdotem pro populi salute, quae si hactenus cognita sunt populo, ut intelligat pro se fieri supplica-

such as Latin, in contradistinction to the vulgar tongues, could be "especially expedient" in maintaining "the majesty of this unspeakable Mystery."[69] Furthermore, in answer to Protestant attacks on the use of Latin, another distinct but interconnected argument seems to have been of fundamental importance for the fathers at the Council: only the preservation of Latin in the Liturgy could safeguard the unity of the Church which embraced "many peoples distinguished by a great difference of language."[70] Indeed, inasmuch as exposing the "divine and holy Mysteries" to numerous translations in the vernacular threatened the very essence of the Mass, an insistence on Latin represented the defence of a sacred heritage against the onslaught of the Protestant Reformation. Thus here, too, emphasis on the notion of a sacred linguistic medium, the definition of language as the essence of a spiritual and cultural community, the preservation of a language in defence of the faith—all these ideas can be viewed as essential components in Vyšens'kyj's language beliefs.[71]

Notwithstanding the considerable attention devoted to the unique role of Latin in the Liturgy, one should not forget that many fathers at the Council of Trent felt equally compelled to offer a strong defence of the vernacular for the "exhortation, consolation, and edification" of the people.[72] Indeed, some of the participants at the Council believed that the use of the vulgar tongue in the liturgical service deserved special consideration. Especially noteworthy, in this regard, are the comments of Bartholomaeus de Miranda, Archbishop of Toledo. Proceeding from the crucial distinction between, on the one hand, the Sacrifice and certain other parts of the Mass (i.e., the readings of the Epistle and the Gospel) which had to be recited in the Latin tongue and, on the other hand, those very same parts which had to be

tionem apud Deum Patrem." (cited after Froger, "Le Concile de Trente," p. 99). See Schmidt, *Liturgie et langue vulgaire*, pp. 103–104; De Marco, *Rome and the Vernacular*, pp. 107–8, 122–23.

69 "Hac enim secreti ratione et maiestas huius ineffabilis mysterii rectius servatur, et populus excitatur ut de eo reverentius et maiori cum devotione cogitet. Lingua enim latina, quae in titulo crucis Domini tamquam quoddam divinum instrumentum est consecrata, mysteriis missae in occidentali ecclesia celebrandis, maxime convenit" (*Conc. Trid.* 7:482).

70 "[Ecclesia in occidentali], quae cum tot gentes magna diversitate sermonis distinctas et frequentissime inter se communicantes brevi terrae spatio complectatur, uno hoc profecto sermone, qui omnibus communis est, in peragendo hoc communionis sacrificio uti debuit" (*Conc. Trid.* 7:482). See Schmidt, *Liturgie et langue vulgaire*, esp. pp. 115–16; De Marco, *Rome and the Vernacular*, p. 115.

71 It is noteworthy that, in response to the contents of the above-mentioned Article IX, Caesar Ferrantius introduced the example of the Slavic Liturgy as proof of the "inconveniences" which could arise from translating the Mass into the vernacular (*Conc. Trid.* 8:742). See Schmidt, *Liturgie et langue vulgaire*, pp. 122–24.

72 See fn. 68 above.

explained afterwards in the vernacular, the Spanish archbishop suggested that Article IX not be considered heretical like all the others.[73] In his opinion, the use of the vulgar tongue at certain levels of the Liturgy was required and should have an official character in order that it reach the public. In particular, it was necessary during the Mass to "interpret" the Epistle and the Gospel in the vulgar language.[74]

It is important to note that, for some participants in the conciliar deliberations, the notion of "interpreting" the Epistle and the Gospel in the vernacular went beyond mere "explanation" or "commentary" to include the idea of "translation" as well.[75] Hence, a significant theme in the discussions at the Council of Trent was whether the sermon (i.e., the "interpretation") ought to be accompanied by a literal reading (i.e., "translation") in the vulgar tongue.[76] As indicated above, moreover, the particular place of the sermon—that is, whether it should immediately follow the Gospel pericopes—also appears to have been a subject of considerable importance.[77] Here as well, therefore, the demand that the vernacular be used in matters of "interpretation" (i.e., in the sermon), the concern not only for "explanation" but also for "translation" of the biblical lections,[78] and the attention given to the specific place of the sermon—all were relevant issues for Ivan Vyšens'kyj in his efforts to safeguard the Orthodox spiritual tradition.

One should not forget that among the numerous deliberants who spoke out (albeit in various ways) in favor of the use of the vernacular in the Liturgy, one could find at least two participants whose dioceses had well-developed Slavic liturgical traditions (in Glagolitic), namely, Albert de Glirici, Bishop of Veglia (Krk), and Mutius Calinus, Archbishop of Zara (Zadar).[79] While the former sought to defend the status of the vulgar tongue

73 "Alii quoque articuli haeretici sunt: sed nonus non debet, ut alii, damnari de celebratione missae in lingua: licet canon semper debeat latina lingua et secreto dici, ob mysteria magna, ut Basilius docet. Alia etiam debent lingua latina legi, sed in concione declarari: in quo major fructus offertur populo. Quae declaratio necessaria est, et in ecclesia fieri debet" (*Conc. Trid.* 7:437).

74 One can recognize the views of the Spanish archbishop in the declaration made by a general assembly on 4 January 1552: "Et quidam vellet statui a sancta Synodo, quod in missis publicis semper aliqui interpretarentur epistolam et evangelium in lingua vulgari" (*Conc. Trid.* 7:441).

75 See Froger, "Le Concile de Trente," esp. pp. 164–65. On the Polish terms used during the age of Reformation and Counter-Reformation to signify "translation" and "interpretation," see Frick, *Polish Sacred Philology*, pp. 251–52.

76 See Froger, "Le Concile de Trente," p. 167.

77 See fn. 60 above.

78 See fn. 23 above.

79 See S. Graciotti, "Il pensiero del Polacco Hosius (1558) sull'uso liturgico del volgare

in the Mass in general terms,[80] the latter reacted to an anti-vernacular canon by specifically referring to the use of the Slavic tongue during the celebration of the Mass in Dalmatia.[81] Indeed, especially revealing are the correspondences in phraseology between Ivan Vyšens'kyj and Mutius Calinus, who "did not reprove the custom in Dalmatia, where *after the reading of the Latin Gospel*, the vernacular is also added *so that these peoples might better be instructed*."[82]

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The ideas set forth at the Council of Trent on the nature of and relationship between sacred and vulgar tongues quickly spread to the major cultural centers of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The diffusion of Tridentine formulations to the Commonwealth was accomplished, above all, through the missionary and educational programs of the Jesuit order, which was taken under special royal protection in 1565. More specifically, the liturgical solutions reached at Trent were reflected in the writings of such leading proponents of Counter-Reformation thought in Poland as Cardinal

slavo," in *Studi in onore di Arturo Cronia*, Collectanea di Studi sull'Europa Orientale, 7 (Padua, 1967), pp. 229–30. It is also noteworthy that in reaction to Article IX (see fn. 66 above), Paul II Gregorianczi, Bishop of Agram (Zagreb) sought to defend the interests of the "Eastern churches," including the dioceses where the "Mass is celebrated in their own language, which... is derived from St. Jerome": "9. non videtur generaliter damnandum de lingua vulgari, quia in multis locis, ut est in sua dioecesi, missae eorum lingua celebrantur, quam dicunt esse B. Hieronymi: et placeret constitui, ut celebrans declararet, lingua vulgari" (*Conc. Trid.* 7: 443).

80 "In 4. cap. ratio quare missa latina lingua celebranda sit, non videtur bona, neque damnandi qui vulgari lingua celebrant. Et in ecclesia Hierosolymitana sancti sepulchri celebrantur missae qualibet lingua, quae est sub caelo" (*Conc. Trid.* 8: 766).

81 It is interesting to note that Mutius Calinus could also suggest that the Slavic language was something more than a mere vernacular; indeed, in a letter written to Cardinal Luigi Cornaro Camerlengo (6 December 1563), the archbishop of Zara sought to underscore the similarities between the Slavic tongue and Latin: "... si ancora perchè detta lingua schiava antica non è la volgare, e materna di quei popoli, anzi è loro così oscura, come quasi a nostri idioti Italiani la Latina" (L. Jelić, ed., *Fontes Historici Liturgiae Glagolito-Romanae a XIII ad XIX saeculum* [Veglia, 1906], p. 28).

82 "Multa in canones, et praesertime in eo de non dicenda missa in lingua vulgari; se non improbare tamen morem in Dalmatia, ut post latinum evangelium subiiciatur etiam vulgare, ut illae nationes magis instruantur" (*Conc. Trid.* 3: 1, 385). Cf. Mutius Calinus's remarks to Cardinal Camerlengo (see fn. 81 above): "Ma non fu impedito che secondo l'antico uso, ed universale di quella Provincia (di Dalmazia) si potessero celebrare fuori della città per la Diocesi le messe e gli uffizi divine nella lingua Schiava antica.... Ma perchè il mio popolo desiderava infinitamente, che nelle chiese di certe confraternite (della città di Zara) alla messa Latina fosse restituito l'uso de quelle Epistoli ed Evangeli in lingua Schiava, supplicai Sua Signoria Illustrissima, che si degnasse come Supremo Inquisitore concedere loro questa grazia" (Jelić, *Fontes Historici*, p. 28).

Stanisław Hosius, who played a central role in introducing the Jesuits and inaugurating the Catholic reforms, and Piotr Skarga, the great Jesuit and royal preacher.[83]

As Sante Graciotti rightly has pointed out, Cardinal Hosius, who was one of the five papal legates during the last period of the Council of Trent, not only could not have offered language views different from those adopted at Trent but also might have influenced the conciliar deliberations.[84] Indeed, it appears that the definition of Hosius as the resolute opponent of the liturgical use of the vulgar tongue in all its forms is in certain need of revision.[85] In two works published in 1558 and written in direct response to alternative positions—namely, *A Treatise on the Express Word of God*[86] and *A Dialogue On Whether It is Fitting that the Chalice be Permitted to Laymen. . . and the Divine Office be Performed in the Vulgar Tongue*[87] —Hosius dealt with all major liturgical issues raised during both the early and later phases of the Council of Trent. These included the special status of the Latin tongue as a sacred medium, its importance for preserving Catholic unity and Church order, the problem of intelligibility,[88] and, finally, the question of a Slavic liturgical vernacular for Catholic worship in Poland.[89] One should not forget that these two polemical works, which stressed the rigid liturgical distinction between sacred and vulgar tongues but apparently did not preclude the explanation of the biblical readings (i.e., the sermon) in the vernacular,[90] were quickly translated into Polish under

[83] This section of the paper is greatly indebted to David Frick's highly perceptive treatment of the problems of biblical translation and liturgical language in Reformation and Counter-Reformation Poland: see Frick, *Polish Sacred Philology*, esp. pp. 36–44, 192–93, 202–9. I would like to thank Professor Frick for his generous assistance and for graciously allowing me to make extensive use of the relevant chapters in his book before it went to press.

[84] Graciotti, "Il pensiero del polacco Hosius," pp. 217–20, 229–30.

[85] Graciotti, "Il pensiero del polacco Hosius," pp. 217–20, 229–30. Cf. Frick, *Polish Sacred Philology*, pp. 40–44.

[86] *De expresso Dei verbo. . . libellus* (Dilinga, 1558).

[87] *Dialogus de eo, num calicem laicis,. . . ac divina officia vulgari lingua peragi fas sit* (Dilinga, 1558).

[88] Hosius's insistence that the sacred language of the Liturgy (i.e., Latin) need not be intelligible fully corresponds to the position taken by many participants at the Council of Trent. One wonders, however, if by suggesting that the language of the Slavic rite is partially unintelligible even to the priests themselves, Hosius—like Skarga after him—was not implicitly raising the Slavic language to the status of a sacred tongue: see fn. 98 below. Cf. Frick, *Polish Sacred Philology*, p. 204.

[89] See, in this regard, B. Otwinowska, "Polski dwugłos o języku narodowym w Kościele (Hozjusz-Frycz)," in *Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski i problemy kultury polskiego Odrodzenia*, Studia Staropolskie, 42, ed. T. Bieńkowski (Wrocław, 1974), pp. 131–63; Graciotti, "Il pensiero del polacco Hosius," esp. 229–36. Cf. Frick, *Polish Sacred Philology*, pp. 42–44.

[90] Frick has noted that, in response to Protestant claims that 1 Cor. 14 justifies a vernacular Liturgy, Hosius asserted: "Quid si Pauli prescriptum hoc, magis ad praedicationes, quam ad

the title *Books on the Clear and Pure Word of God*.[91] Thus, as David Frick has noted, "through this roughly contemporaneous translation, Hosius took part in the debates not only in Latin but also in Polish."[92]

It was stated above that, although scholars often have pointed to the importance of Vyšens'kyj's bitter polemic with Skarga's *On the Unity of God's Church under One Shepherd* regarding the dignity of the Slavic language and Ruthenian Orthodox cultural tradition,[93] they rarely have sought out possible parallels or points of similarity between the Orthodox monk, who spent most of his adult life on Mt. Athos, and the Polish Jesuit, who after completing his novitiate was dispatched to the eastern lands of the Commonwealth and came into frequent contact with various heterodox sects as well as its Orthodox inhabitants. Yet the fact is that in his writings—from the *Unity of God's Church under one Pastor*, first published in 1577, to his *Sermons on the Seven Sacraments*, which appeared in 1600[94] —Skarga offered a vision of the relationship between sacred and vulgar tongues which, in large part, could have been readily accepted by Vyšens'kyj. Like the deliberants at the Council of Trent and Hosius before him, Skarga underscored the strict distinction between the Mass—which was far more than instruction and must therefore be celebrated in a tongue which was both unintelligible and immutable—and the sermon, which ought to be celebrated in the vulgar tongue.[95] Indeed, on the basis of this fundamental difference, the spiritual leader of Counter-Reformation Poland not only bemoaned the fact that the Jesuit order had not been better trained in the Slavic language and had not cultivated a Ruthenian vernacular in the service of explication and propagation of the faith.[96] He even implied that

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precationes pertinere uidetur?" (Frick, *Polish Sacred Philology*, p. 43, fn. 30). Cf. Schmidt, *Liturgie et langue vulgaire*, pp. 125–35, passim.

[91] *Księgi o jasnym a szczyrym Słowie Bożym* (Cracow, 1562). This fact should not escape our attention when considering possible influences on the language beliefs of Vyšens'kyj, who undoubtedly knew Polish well: see fn. 46 above.

[92] Frick, *Polish Sacred Philology*, p. 36.

[93] See fn. 13 above.

[94] I.e., the *Kazania o siedmi sakramentach* (Cracow, 1600). Frick has pointed out that one of Skarga's sermons, namely the *Kazanie o mszy*, "contains his most general and yet complete statement on the question [of 'intelligible' language and the scriptural component of the Mass]; it covers all the specific points made on the use of the Slavonic liturgical language in his *On the Unity of the Church of God under one Pastor*. . ." (Frick, *Polish Sacred Philology*, p. 203).

[95] Frick, *Polish Sacred Philology*, pp. 203–4.

[96] As Skarga notes in his *O jedności Kościoła Bożego*. . .: "Byśmy byli czuyni, moglişmy dawno szkoły Ruskie mieć a wszytkie pisma Ruskie przeyrzeć, y w Słowieńskim ich ięzyku mieć swoie katoliki ćwiczone. Trzeba było y na Polski, abo na Ruski ięzyk przekładać Ruskim narodom rzeczy, ku temu służące, żeby rychley prawdę obaczyli. Dobrze by y do przednieyszych Ruskiego nabożeństva panow vczone posyłać, a onym ich błędy y niebespieczeństwo vkazować" (Gil'tebrandt, *Pamjatniki polemičeskoj literatury*, 2:499).

the Slavic tongue, perhaps because it was now unintelligible,[97] could be placed—along with Latin, Greek, and Hebrew—among those special and sacred media in which one could celebrate the Mass.[98]

It is thus possible that the author of the statements regarding the language of the Slavic Liturgy contained in chapter 3 of the *Knyžka* could have had recourse to the precise conceptual formula dealing with the language of the Liturgy offered by the revised system of post-Tridentine Catholicism. In other words, Ivan Vyšens'kyj, the patriotic defender of Orthodox spirituality, might have found it beneficial to rely on the language policies of the Catholic Church, as formulated at the Council of Trent and quickly transmitted to Counter-Reformation Poland, in order to affirm the unique status of the Slavic language and elucidate its precise relationship to the vulgar tongue. Further studies should focus not only on the decisive importance of Counter-Reformation thought for the culture of Orthodox Slavs from Ruthenia and Muscovy to Serbia and Bulgaria, but also on the fact that it was precisely the existence and vitality of the spiritual community of Orthodox Slavdom which made possible the penetration and spread throughout that community of ideological clichés elaborated by the Catholic Counter-Reformation.[99]

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Nevertheless, Vyšens'kyj's position on the liturgical "language question" seems to have differed sharply from the deliberations which took place at the Council of Trent in one very important respect. Indeed, it is fair to say

97 In his *Kazanie o Mszy* Skarga writes: "Ruś pierwey Słowieńskim naszym dawnych oycow ięzykiem Mszą ś. czynili, y dziś czynią. Na on czas ięzyk ten ktory się też Bułgarskim zowie, rozumiany był dziś go ani żaden Bułgar, ani Karwat, ani Moskwa, ani Rusin nie rozumie, aż z wielkiey nauki y pilności. Bo tylo w księgach on ięzyk został, a lud prosty insze słowa w mowę wprowadził" (cited after Frick, *Polish Sacred Philology*, p. 204, fn. 38). Cf. fn. 81 above.

98 "Wszytek świat Chrześciański z starodawna Mszey ś. nie odprawuie, iedno kilą ięzykow, abo Łacińskim, abo Greckim, abo Chaldeyskim, abo Słowieńskim. Nikt od tysiąca lat y daley, swego ięzyka, ktorym mowi, do Liturgiey y Mszey nie wnosił, iedno ten z ktorym wiarę ś. przyiął" (cited after Frick, *Polish Sacred Philology*, p. 204, fn. 40).

99 Paradoxically, as Picchio has shown, it was the work of Skarga himself which facilitated the diffusion of one of the major ideological tools of the Counter-Reformation among the Orthodox Slavs. His compendium of Cardinal Baronius's *Annales Ecclesiastici* (Rome, 1558–1607), first published in 1603 under the title *Roczne dzieje kościelne od Narodzenia Pana Boga naszego Iezusa Christusa*, not only appears to have circulated in a Russian version (*Baronij*) in Muscovite Russia during the "Time of Troubles" but came to be considered an authoritative writing among both the Old Believers and representatives of the Russian Church. It was the official version of *Baronij* published by the Synodal printing house of the Russian Orthodox Church in 1719 which spread throughout the still-vital cultural community of Orthodox Slavdom and which became one of the most important sources for Paisij Hilendarski's

that this apparent distinction testifies to the Athonite monk's efforts to provide a traditional and yet peculiarly Orthodox solution to the problem of liturgical language use in general and of the homily in particular. While it is true that discussions did occur at Trent concerning the precise place for the homily,[100] all participants in the deliberations appear to have been in agreement that the biblical lections and commentary in the vulgar tongue should take place "during the celebration of the Mass"[101] but *before* the "Sacrifice of the Mass." None of the church fathers at the Council seems to have proposed that the homily be offered "*after* the Mass," that is, following the celebration of the Eucharist. Yet this is the very idea which the Orthodox monk Vyšens'kyj appears to put forward in chapter 3 of the *Knyžka*: namely, one is to explain and interpret the Gospel and the Pauline Epistle in the vulgar tongue *after the Liturgy*,[102] that is, after the prayer behind the Ambo.[103] According to the Athonite monk, therefore, it seems that the homily could not interrupt the Liturgy, *all* parts of which had to be celebrated in the Slavic language.

It is noteworthy that in the structures of Vyšens'kyj's thought one can detect not only a traditional pattern of language speculation stressing the special role of the Slavic tongue as an instrument of salvation,[104] but also a contemporary attitude strongly opposing the influence of the curriculum in the new Jesuit schools and the renewed importance given to preaching in the Ruthenian lands.[105] One should not forget that Ivan Vyšens'kyj's

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Istorija Slavěnobolgarskaja (1762): see R. Picchio, "Gli *Annali* del Baronio-Skarga e la *Storia* di Paisij Hilendarski," *Richerche Slavistiche* 3 (1954): 212–33.

100 I.e., for example, immediately following the Gospel pericopes or after the Credo: see fn. 60 above.

101 I.e., "inter missarum celebrationem" or "inter missarum sollemnia": see fn. 60 above. Cf. Vyšens'kyj's phrasing in chapter 3 of the *Knyžka*: *"Evanhelie i Apostola v cerkvi na liturhii prostym jazykom ne vyvoračajte"* (23).

102 *"Po liturhii ž dlja zrozumenja ljudskoho poprostu tolkujte i vykladajte"* (23).

103 See Father Solovey (*The Byzantine Divine Liturgy*, pp. 330–31), who points out that, although the homily is a constituent part of the Liturgy of the Catechumens, in some places it is delivered not after the Gospel but following the Holy Eucharist. Indeed, he notes, "the custom of preaching after the prayer behind the Ambo is still prevalent in the Russian-Orthodox Church" (p. 202). Cf. N. I. Barsov, "Propoved'," in *Enciklopedičeskij slovar'*, ed. F. A. Brockhaus and I. A. Efron (St. Petersburg, 1890), 25: 548–49; G. Lenhoff, "Problems of Medieval Narrative Typology: The Exemplum," in *Gattung und Narration in den älteren slavischen Literaturen (Zweite Berliner Fachtagung 1984)*, ed. K.-D. Seemann (Wiesbaden, 1987), pp. 117–18.

104 See fn. 26 above.

105 Yet, as James Murphy rightly has noted, "It is extremely difficult to discuss in theoretical terms a movement...seeking simplicity. The movement is apparently continuous with the whole history of the Church. The history of Christian preaching is filled with recurrent cycles of antipathy to rhetorical form.... But all the evidence seems to point to the conclusion that a purposeful choice of nontheory was regarded by many churchmen, over many centuries, as a

comments in chapter 3 of the *Knyžka* were offered in response not to the Polish adversaries of Orthodox Ruthenian spirituality but rather to "those among us" (i.e., among the Ruthenians) who blasphemed against the Slavic language and its tradition and thereby participated in the work of the devil.[106] It thus seems that the Athonite monk felt duty-bound to expose abuses in the liturgical practices of the Ruthenian "school preachers," whose actions threatened the supreme position of the Eucharist by giving precedence to seductive preaching over self-perfection and salvation.[107] In Vyšens'kyj's opinion, an exaggerated emphasis on preaching, which was delivered immediately after the Gospel and gave precedence to the rhetorical skill of the speaker over the apostolic need for instruction, would not only invalidate the unvarying link between reading and homily authenticated in the early Church but also draw attention away from the unique and redemptive act of the Eucharistic Sacrifice.[108]

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The present study leads us to conclude that:

(1) It is wrong to suggest that Ivan Vyšens'kyj's language beliefs did not depend on certain well-defined principles or traditions of language speculation.

(2) It is incorrect to define either Vyšens'kyj's ideas on the "vulgar tongue" and its relationship to the Slavic language, or the language of his writings, as conceived primarily under the influence of the Protestant Reformation. While it is true that the motive of intelligibility, found in numerous texts from the middle of the sixteenth century to justify the use of a Ruthenian vernacular for homiletic and polemical purposes, may indeed reflect Protestant ideological schemes, it is clear that the Athonite monk could not have found a clear exposition in Reformation thought which not

viable way to respond to Christ's preaching mandate" (J. Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages. A History of Rhetorical Theory from St. Augustine to the Renaissance* (Berkeley, 1974), pp. 299–300.

106 See Eremin, *Ivan Višenkij*, p. 23.

107 Vyšens'kyj's attack on the excessive attention given to preaching connected with "Latin sophistry" would be developed in his later writings, especially in his *Poslanie čestnoe i blagogovějnoi staricy Domnikii* (written ca. 1605).

108 In commenting on the situation which still prevails in the Russian Orthodox Church (see fn. 103 above), Father Solovey has observed that "perhaps the reason for moving the sermon to the end of the Liturgy was that the faithful, after having heard the sermon after the Gospel, left the church thus omitting the most important part of the Divine Liturgy—the eucharistic-sacrificial part. Even St. John Chrysostom complained in his homilies that many Christians came to church only to hear the grandiloquence of the preacher and, after having heard, left [cf. Migne, PG, 48, 725]" (Solovey, *The Byzantine Divine Liturgy*, p. 202, fn. 47).

only affirmed the uniqueness of a sacred medium but also both rigidly opposed the indiscriminate use of the vernacular and insisted that the latter be employed to ensure the intelligibility of Christian people for "simple people."

(3) Vyšens'kyj's language speculation reflects the traditional teaching of the Church regarding the use of "sacred" and "apostolic" languages.

(4) In his defence of the sacrality of the Slavic language, as well as the attempt to define the limits of acceptability to be imposed on the use of a Ruthenian vernacular, Vyšens'kyj might have had recourse to the precise formulaic language of the post-Tridentine Catholic Church.

(5) The language beliefs elaborated at the Council of Trent quickly were transmitted to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Vyšens'kyj could easily have become acquainted with these language beliefs in the writings of both the leading proponents of Counter-Reformation thought in Poland and his Ruthenian contemporaries. Thus, Catholic language speculation could have assumed considerable importance in what Vyšens'kyj saw as a defence of the Orthodox spiritual tradition.

(6) Notwithstanding Vyšens'kyj's apparent reliance on formulations linked with the language policies of the post-Tridentine Catholic Church, the Athonite's monk's views regarding the place, nature, and precise function of the sermon seem to have been in sharp contrast to the position representative of Catholic Counter-Reformation thought in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Yale University

The Conflict between the Secular and the Religious Clergy in Eighteenth-Century Western Ukraine

JOHN-PAUL HIMKA

In the late eighteenth century a conflict between the secular clergy, backed by the episcopate, and the Basilian religious order was one of the dominant features of ecclesiastical life in Western Ukraine.[1] The conflict generated a daunting body of documentation as the monks and bishops took their cases to Rome, Warsaw, and Vienna and as the authorities to whom they appealed tried to sort out the merits of the respective arguments. The conflict concerned property rights, with the Basilian order and the episcopate at odds over cathedrals, estates, and even marketplaces. It concerned episcopal jurisdiction, with the bishops working to reassert their authority over the order. It concerned the selection of bishops, with the Basilians arguing that only they could provide candidates for episcopal office. And it concerned the administration of eparchies, as the Basilians opposed the establishment from the secular clergy of cathedral chapters. These issues were all logically connected, as the present article will demonstrate. The conflict broke out in the 1740s and was essentially resolved, in the secular clergy's favor, in the 1780s.

The first historical account of the dissension was provided by Mykhail Harasevych who was not primarily a historian but a consistorial official in the early nineteenth century. He was still close enough to the conflict for his *Annales Ecclesiae Ruthenae* to be permeated by a partisan anti-Basilian spirit. The *Annales* even contain a special section entitled "Damna s. unioni a PP. Basilianis illata. Angustiae cleri saecularis,"[2] but passages directed

[1] An earlier version of this paper was presented at the conference "From Kievan Rus' to Modern Ukraine: A Millennium of Growth" sponsored by the Ukrainian Research Program at the University of Illinois, June 1988. I would like to thank the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for a grant to study the Greek Catholic Church, 1772–1918, a research project from which information in this article was drawn. I have profited from the advice of Sr. Sophia Senyk and Iaroslav Isaievych.

[2] Mykhail Harasevych (Michael Harasiewicz), *Annales Ecclesiae Ruthenae* (Lviv, 1862), pp. 520–39. It is interesting, however, that in 1801, as a member of a crownland commission, Harasevych supported the Basilians against a group of Polish nobles who tried to remove them from the Przemyśl (Peremyshl') gymnasium, which had been entrusted to their care. Mykhail Malynovs'kyi (Michael Ritter von Malinowski), *Die Kirchen- und Staats-Satzungen bezüglich des griechisch-katholischen Ritus der Ruthenen in Galizien* (Lviv, 1861), pp. 416–17.

against the Basilian order can be found in many places in the work. Harasevych's partisan effort had a major influence on subsequent historiography. Mykhail Malynovs'kyi, who edited and published the *Annales* and who was also a consistorial official (but of a later generation than Harasevych), wrote his own historical study of the Ukrainian Church in which the Basilians were treated in exactly the same spirit as in the *Annales*.[3] The foremost historian of the Ukrainian Uniate Church, Iuliian Pelesh, was aware that Harasevych's work was marred by partisanship and bigotry[4] with regard to the Basilians, but he found it impossible to liberate himself from Harasevych's viewpoint. Except for two sentences praising the Basilians for educational work, Pelesh's account of the Basilians is at least as damning as Harasevych's and is presented in language no more restrained. The major nineteenth-century Polish historian of the Uniate Church, Edmund Likowski, also accepted Harasevych's negative view of the Basilians. In fact, it played an important role in his explanation of why the Uniate Church was in such a debilitated state when Poland was partitioned at the end of the eighteenth century. He argued that the Basilians were more responsible for the decay of the Uniate Church than was the Polish government.[5] Władysław Chotkowski, who wrote before the First World War, had a negative appraisal of the Greek Catholic Church as a whole and included the Basilians in his condemnation.[6]

The conflict between the secular and the religious clergy in Western Ukraine has not been the subject of specialized study by later scholars,[7] and

[3] Malynovs'kyi, *Die Kirchen- und Staats-Satzungen*, e.g., p. 226. Although the title page bears the date 1861, the book was actually published late in 1863 or in 1864.

[4] His phrase was: "eine zu ungeschminkte Parteilichkeit und Unbilligkeit." Iulian Pelesh (Julian Pelesz), *Geschichte der Union der ruthenischen Kirche mit Rom von den aeltesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart*, 2 vols. (Würzburg and Vienna, 1881), 2:480.

[5] Edward Likowski, *Dzieje Kościoła Unickiego na Litwie i Rusi w XVIII i XIX wieku uważane głównie ze względu na przyczyny jego upadku*, 2 vols., 2nd ed., Biblioteka Dzieł Chrześcijańskich (Warsaw and Cracow, 1906), 1:258–67.

[6] Władysław Chotkowski, *Historya polityczna kościoła w Galicyi za rządów Maryi Teresy*, 2 vols. (Cracow, 1909), see esp. vol. 2, pp. 432–33, 470. Chotkowski's work had a pronounced anti-Ukrainian tone. See Ivan Krevets'kyi, "Halychyna v druhii polovyni XVIII st. Ohliad novykh vydan'," *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva imeny Shevchenka* (hereafter *Zapysky NTSh*), 91 (1909):43.

[7] See Mykhailo Vavryk, "Bibliohrafichnyi ohliad istorii Vasyliians'koho Chyna za 1935–1950 rr.," *Zapysky ChSVV/ Analecta OSBM*, ser. 2 (Rome), sec. 2, vol. 3(9), no. 1/2 (1958):237–76; and idem, "Bibliohrafichnyi ohliad istorii Vasyliians'koho Chyna za 1950-1970 rr.," *Zapysky ChSVV/ Analecta OSBM*, ser. 2, sec. 2, vol. 7(13) (1971):334–424. The conflict between the Basilians and the secular clergy is not treated in a Polish scholar's recent book on the order: Maria Pidłypczak-Majerowicz, *Bazylianie w Koronie i na Litwie. Szkoły i książki w działalności zakonu* (Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, 779) (Warsaw and Wrocław, 1986).

the anti-Basilian views of the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century historians still prevail by default. The present article is not an attempt to reverse the prevalent view and take up the cause of those who lost their struggle at the end of the eighteenth century—the documentary evidence does not allow this—but an attempt to rewrite the history in a synthetic and less tendentious manner and with more attention to the inner connections among the various aspects of the dispute. It also makes use of published and unpublished sources from the Vatican archives that were unknown to the earlier historians; these sources, however, do not alter the general outline of the picture painted by Harasevych and his successors. The article proceeds in chronological fashion, beginning with the background to the dispute that broke out in the 1740s; continuing with the efforts of Bishop Leo Sheptyts'kyi to curb the Basilians, first under Polish rule until 1772, then under Austrian rule; and ending with the defeat of the Basilians in the era of Josephinism.

Shortly after the majority of the Ukrainian and Belorussian hierarchs accepted union with Rome (1596), efforts were made to reform and revive monastic life. Metropolitan Iosyf Veliamyn Ruts'kyi was the outstanding figure in this revival; the culmination of his efforts was the consolidation of the disparate monastic communities into the Basilian order, organized partly along the lines of Western religious orders (1617).[8] The order developed slowly in the tumultuous seventeenth century but grew rapidly in the eighteenth (there were only 160–180 Basilians in the 1670s but about 1,150 in the 1740s).[9] Basilians appeared in Western Ukraine only at the turn of the eighteenth century, when the eparchies of Peremyshl' (Przemyśl), Lviv, and Luts'k finally accepted the union with Rome (in 1692, 1700, and 1702, respectively). The West Ukrainian Basilians developed quickly, however, and in 1739 formed their own "Ruthenian" congregation in Lviv (more properly called the Congregation of the Protection of the Mother of God). When in 1743 the Ruthenian congregation formally joined with the "Lithuanian" (Holy Trinity) congregation, it was nearly double the size of

[8] There is an excellent account of Ruts'kyi's motives and intentions in founding the Basilian order: Sophia Senyk, "Rutskyj's Reform and Orthodox Monasticism: A Comparison; Eastern Rite Monasticism in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the Seventeenth Century," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 48, no. 2 (1982): 406–30. A brief survey of the Basilian order can be found in Petro B. T. Bilaniuk, "Basilians," *The Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet History*, ed. Joseph L. Wieczynski, vol. 47: *Supplement* (Gulf Breeze, Fla., 1988), pp. 60–65; for a longer, institutional history of the Basilians in Galicia, see Isydor Patrylo, "Narys istorii Halyts'koi provintsii ChSVV," *Analecta OSBM* 17 (1982): 43–130.

[9] Mykhailo M. Vavryk, *Narys rozvytku i stanu Vasyliians'koho chyna XVII–XX st. Topohrafichno-statystychna rozvidka* (Rome, 1979) (= Analecta OSBM, ser. 2, sec. 1, vol. 40), pp. 1–31.

the older congregation, with 129 monasteries and almost 700 monks. In this period of flourishing, the first half of the eighteenth century, the order boasted a number of schools[10] and wealthy benefices. It also acquired two privileges that were to become bones of contention in the 1740s–1780s. The first of these was a piece of legislation—article 6 of the Synod of Zamość (1720)—which effectively stipulated that only Basilian monks could become bishops in the Uniate Church.[11] The second privilege, granted at the union of the Ruthenian and Lithuanian congregations in 1743, was dispensation from episcopal jurisdiction; Basilians henceforth were to be subordinate only to their own protoarchimandrite. To complete this picture of the Basilians on the eve of their conflict with the secular clergy it only remains to mention that many of them—and some of the most influential among them—were members of the Polish gentry who changed from the Latin to the Greek rite to join the order.[12]

While the Basilians flourished, the Ukrainian secular clergy languished. Parish priests were poor[13] and uneducated.[14] Poverty and ignorance had

10 Pidłypczak-Majerowicz, *Bazylianie*, pp. 28–55. For the story of a particularly brilliant Basilian theology professor in Lviv, who regularly shamed the Jesuits in public disputations, see Tyt Voinarovs'kyi, *Vplyv Pol'shchi na ekonomichnyi rozvii Ukrainy-Rusy. Istorychno-ekonomichna rozvidka* (Lviv, 1910), p. 17. I am grateful to Iwan S. Koropeckyj for this reference.

11 Harasevych, *Annales*, 482–83. For commentary, see Pelesh, *Geschichte der Union*, 2:475–77.

12 Harasevych, characteristically, put it this way: "Magna ex parte religiosi Basiliani erant natione Poloni, e ritu latino propter promotiones ad Abbatias et Eppatus Ruthenos vel plane propter eradicandum ritum Graecum venientes." *Annales*, p. 521n. Essentially the same information, but modified to suit the author's viewpoint, appears in Likowski, *Dzieje*, 1:266. Pidłypczak-Majerowicz, *Bazylianie*, p. 27, states that "almost half" of the Basilians had originally been Catholics of the Latin rite but cites no source to support this assertion; moreover, the same author on p. 167 states that the Basilians "derived above all from the Ruthenian nation." See also Pelesh, *Geschichte der Union*, 2:566; Anton Korczok, *Die griechisch-katholische Kirche in Galizien* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1921), pp. 104–5; and Dmytro Blazejovskyj, *Ukrainian and Armenian Pontifical Seminaries of Lviv (1665–1784)* (Rome, 1975) (= Analecta OSBM, ser. 2, sec. 1, vol. 29), pp. 34–35.

13 Bishop Leo Sheptyts'kyi, writing to the Roman curia in 1761, lamented that barely one hundred parishes in the extensive Lviv eparchy had endowments of land large enough to support their pastors: *L'vovskaia ruskaia eparkhiia pered stoma lity, opysana po doneseniiu; podanomu do Rymskoi kurii Preosviashchenniishym L'vom Sheptytskym, Epyskopom L'vovskym, Halytskym i Kamenetskym, perepechatano iz "Zori Halyts'koi—Al'buma na hod 1860* (Lviv, 1860), p. 14.

14 "Parish priests, with few exceptions, knew little more than how to read, write and perform church rites. Their knowledge of the truths [of the Faith] was usually limited to a superficial acquaintance with the catechism. It happened that some acquired a higher education, but these generally left the ranks of the secular clergy and entered the Basilian order, where they could count on a higher ecclesiastical career." Likowski, *Dzieje*, 1:259. For a finely nuanced overview of the problem, see Sophia Senyk, "The Education of the Secular Clergy in the Ruthenian Church before the Nineteenth Century," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 53, no. 2

dogged the West Ukrainian clergy for centuries and they were certainly not introduced by the Basilians. But the Basilians did have some responsibility for the secular clergy's inferior status in the mid-eighteenth century. As a married clergy, the secular Ukrainian clergy was in practice and by tradition excluded from episcopal office, but it had not been excluded explicitly until 1720 when the Basilians managed to have article 6, reserving the episcopate to themselves, accepted by the Synod of Zamość. The same synod had enjoined upon the Basilians the task of establishing seminaries to educate the secular clergy, but the order did not take this duty seriously.[15] Moreover, as the order expanded, it took to acquiring property by the method that was all too common in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth: expropriation. The order took church land and buildings into its possession, alienating thus both the secular clergy and the bishops. The alienation of the bishops from the monks was intensified after 1743, when the monks were exempted from the bishops' jurisdiction.

In the mid-1740s the symptoms of discord in the West Ukrainian Church were unequivocal. Bishops Ieronym Ustryts'kyi (1715–1746) and Onufrii Shumlians'kyi (1746–1762) of Peremyshl' had to contend with the Basilians' pretensions to the episcopal estate of Strashevychi near Sambir. According to Pelesh, the Basilians took the estate from Ustryts'kyi simply "on the charge that the bishop had too many estates."[16] The king intervened on Bishop Ustryts'kyi's behalf and the monks withdrew; but when Ustryts'kyi resigned in 1746 and Shumlians'kyi assumed office, the Basilians renewed their claims. In fact, with the help of a mob of peasants, they occupied the estate. The intervention of the papal nuncio and royal authorities forced the Basilians to withdraw again, but now they laid claim to the cathedral in Sambir. An uneasy settlement in the bishop's favor was finally imposed in 1750.[17]

(1987): 387–416. For insight into the material circumstances and cultural level of the clergy of the Lviv eparchy in the late eighteenth century, see Melaniia Bordun, "Z zhytia ukrains'koho dukhovenstva L'vivs'koi eparkhii v druhii polovyni XVIII v.," *Zapysky NTSh* 109 (1912): 39–90, and 110 (1912): 55–100.

15 Likowski, *Dzieje*, 1: 263. Senyk, "Education," pp. 408–9.

16 Pelesh, *Geschichte der Union*, 2: 684. Pelesh used the archives of the Peremyshl' consistory in his examination of this property dispute.

17 Pelesh, *Geschichte der Union*, 2: 683–86. *Congregationes particulares Ecclesiam Catholicam Ucrainae et Bielarusjae spectantes*, vol. 2: *1729–1862*, ed. Athanasius G. Welykyj (Rome, 1957) (= Analecta OSBM, ser. 2, sec. 3), pp. 171–203. *Acta S.C. de Propaganda Fide Ecclesiam Catholicam Ucrainae et Bielarusjae spectantia*, vol. 4: *1740–1769*, ed. Athanasius G. Welykyj (Rome, 1955) (= Analecta OSBM, ser. 2, sec. 3), pp. 52, 55, 58. *Audientiae Sanctissimi de rebus Ucrainae et Bielarusjae (1650–1850)*, vol. 1: *1658–1779*, ed. Athanasius G. Welykyj (Rome, 1963) (= Analecta OSBM, ser. 2, sec. 3), pp. 125–26. *Litterae S.C. de Propaganda Fide Ecclesiam Catholicam Ucrainae et Bielarusjae spectantes*, vol. 4: *1730–1758*,

In the same period, in 1746 and again in 1747, the secular clergy of Lviv and Peremyshl' eparchies submitted complaints to Rome against the monks. The Basilians, according to the petitioners, were making a mockery of Pope Benedict XIV's decree of 1744 ("Inter plures") which stated that a monastery had to have at least eight, and preferably ten, monks.[18] The Basilians of Western Ukraine had many "monasteries" with only two or three monks, but to comply formally with church law they simply declared communities in several separate localities to be part of the same monastery. The secular clergy objected strenuously to this practice because the Basilians used it as a method to appropriate church property: any residence in which two or three monks lived was declared monastery property. The implications of this will be clearer if one considers where small groups of monks could be found. In the early eighteenth century the cathedrals generally had a few monks attached, since, as the most educated members of the Ukrainian clergy, they were the most suitable personnel for the administration of the eparchy. Sometimes, too, the monks were brought in to parish churches to minister to the needs of the faithful when suitable secular priests could not be found; usually these were more important (and hence more lucrative) parishes. In short, as payment for their services in administration and pastoral work, the monks were taking the property—cathedrals and the better benefices—on which they were stationed. The petition of the secular clergy of 1747 discussed not only the Basilians' aforementioned claims to the Sambir cathedral but to other church property as well: the cathedrals in Lviv and Peremyshl' and the parish churches in Butsniv and Zhovkva. Pope Benedict XIV responded to the secular clergy with a bull dated 14 August 1747 that called upon the Ukrainian bishops to educate secular priests and to promote them instead of Basilians to office in the eparchies. The implication of the pope's response was that the removal of the Basilians from the eparchial administration and benefices would remove the grounds for their claims.[19]

The pope's advice was taken to heart by the bishop who ascended the throne of Lviv in 1749 and immediately showed himself to be an outspoken champion of the secular clergy. This was Leo Sheptyts'kyi, a strong and complex personality, a friend of Poland's last and most enlightened king, a

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ed. Athanasius G. Welykyj (Rome, 1957) (=Analecta OSBM, ser. 2, sec. 3), pp. 235–36.

[18] The Congregatio de Propaganda Fide reminded the Basilians of this several times in the following decade. See, e.g., *Litterae*, 4: 277, 289, 295–96.

[19] Harasevych, *Annales*, pp. 495, 522–24. See also *Supplicationes Ecclesiae unitae Ucrainae et Bielarusjae*, vol. 3: *1741–1769*, ed. Athanasius G. Welykyj (Rome, 1965) (=Analecta OSBM, ser. 2, sec. 3), pp. 68–71, 88–89 (the publication and discussion of a very similar petition from the same secular clergy, but under the year 1748).

Ukrainian nobleman of Polish culture and—ironically, but inevitably—a Basilian.[20] The contention between Sheptyts'kyi and his former brothers broke out on the very day of Sheptyts'kyi's solemn enthronement, on the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, 29 June 1749. The Basilians demanded to march in the procession ahead of the secular clergy; for their arrogance, Sheptyts'kyi had them excluded from the procession proper and all that the monks were allowed was to follow behind after the procession, dressed in their ordinary clothes.[21]

At the time of this incident, the Basilians were deeply involved in their property disputes with the bishop of Peremyshl' and this may explain why they left the bishop of Lviv in relative peace for the time being. In 1750, however, they disengaged from the battle in the Peremyshl' eparchy, accepting a mitigated defeat, and in the next year began a series of formal property suits against the bishop of Lviv that were to continue for some thirty years.[22] At issue were all three of Sheptyts'kyi's cathedrals and some of the eparchy's richest estates. The monks claimed St. George's Cathedral in Lviv, where they had assumed pastoral duties during the reign of Leo Sheptyts'kyi's predecessor.[23] Along with the cathedral, the monks claimed the income from the biannual fair held on the square next to it; this came to about 400 Polish zlotys a year.[24] The monks also claimed the cathedral in Kam''ianets'-Podil's'kyi and, according to Sheptyts'kyi, even plundered the ruins of the episcopal residence to obtain construction materials.[25] Along with the cathedral in Halych,[26] the monks claimed the large estate of Perehinsko, which was an appurtenance of that cathedral.[27] The parish and estate of Univ also figured in the monks' claims. Bishop Sheptyts'kyi conceded to the Basilians the parish of Zhovkva,[28] even though the secular clergy had contested Zhovkva in their petition of 1747.

20 *Encyklopedyja Powszechna* [Orgelbranda], 28 vols. (Warsaw, 1859–1868), s.v. "Szeptycki (Leon Ludwik)," by Jul[jan] B[łeszczyński].

21 From the "Chronologia" of Sheptyts'kyi's life prepared immediately after his death by his scribe, Danyil Verkhrats'kyi; printed in Harasevych, *Annales*, p. 574. There is also a somewhat oblique reference to this incident, which occasioned "great scandal for the dignitaries and people of various estates who gathered for the celebration," in Sheptyts'kyi's letter to Rome of 1761, *L'vovskaia ruskaia eparkhiia*, p. 17.

22 Harasevych, *Annales*, p. 495.

23 Sheptyts'kyi, *L'vovskaia ruskaia eparkhiia*, pp. 9–11. Pelesh, *Geschichte der Union*, 2:673–74. Chotkowski, *Historya*, 2:435–38, 445–46. Archivio Segreto Vaticano (hereafter, ASV), Archivio della Nunziatura di Vienna (hereafter, ANV), 65, pp. 154–55v.

24 Sheptyts'kyi, *L'vovskaia ruskaia eparkhiia*, p. 13.

25 Sheptyts'kyi, *L'vovskaia ruskaia eparkhiia*, pp. 12, 14.

26 ASV, ANV, 75, pp. 24–25v, 34v–37. *Supplicationes*, 264–65.

27 ASV, ANV, 75, pp. 26v–32.

28 Sheptyts'kyi, *L'vovskaia ruskaia eparkhiia*, p. 17.

Bishop Sheptyts'kyi fought the Basilians' representations in the curia, at the Polish and later Austrian court, and in the Galician gubernium. He was fairly successful in resisting the Basilians' claims, partly because of the political conjuncture. His friendship with the reforming King Stanisław August Poniatowski assured him of a favorable hearing in Warsaw; and the "Josephinism" that was already coming to the fore in Vienna during the reign of Maria Theresa meant that the monks' pretensions would not arouse much sympathy at the Austrian court. Still, the final settlement of these property disputes was not to occur during Sheptyts'kyi's lifetime. As the disputes dragged on, the bishop worked energetically to reorganize his eparchy to make it more resistant to Basilian influence.

Pope Benedict XIV had already suggested the way forward in 1747: educate the secular clergy and replace the monks with educated secular priests. In fact, this policy had already been initiated to some extent by Leo Sheptyts'kyi's predecessor, Bishop Atanasii Sheptyts'kyi (1715–1746).[29] Leo Sheptyts'kyi searched out gifted young aspirants to the priesthood and sent them for higher education, primarily to the pontifical college in Lviv.[30] In time, he was able to gather about him a coterie of educated secular priests who worked with him in the administration of his eparchy. Already by 1761, it is clear, Sheptyts'kyi was planning to obtain for these priests the formal status of members of the cathedral chapter (in Ukrainian, *krylos* or *kapitul[a]*; in German, *Domkapitel*),[31] but he proceeded cautiously, correctly anticipating that his plan would meet with great resistance, particularly from the Basilians. In fact, it was not until 11 March 1771 that he formally announced the establishment of a cathedral chapter and began to seek confirmation of his action from the pope and the king of Poland.[32] The Basilians found a powerful ally in the Roman Catholic archbishop of Lviv,

[29] Senyk, "Education," p. 411.

[30] According to Ioan Rudovych, *Korotka istoriia halytsko-l'vivskoi ieparkhii. Na osnovi hretskykh zherel i inshykh noviishykh pidruchnykiv, vidbytka z Shematyzmu Arkhiieparkhii l'vivskoi na r. 1902* (Zhovkva, 1902), p. 46, Sheptyts'kyi also sent students to Rome. But this is not borne out by Dmytro Blazejovskyj, *Byzantine Kyivan Rite Students in Pontifical Colleges, and in Seminaries, Universities and Institutes of Central and Western Europe (1576–1983)* (Rome, 1984) (=Analecta OSBM, ser. 2, sec. 1, vol. 43). Blazejovskyj records twenty-four seminarians from Lviv eparchy who passed through the pontifical seminary in Lviv during the reign of Leo Sheptyts'kyi (pp. 111–14) and one who attended the pontifical seminary in Vilnius (p. 171).

[31] This is evident from his letter to Rome of 1761 which contains historical justification for a cathedral chapter of the Ukrainian eparchy of Lviv. Sheptyts'kyi, *L'vovskaia ruskaia eparkhiia*, p. 10.

[32] The best, most concise account of the complicated history of the cathedral chapter and its confirmation is Korczok, *Die griechisch-katholische Kirche*, pp. 56–66. See also Pelesh, *Geschichte der Union*, 2: 612–34.

Wacław Sierakowski, who used all his influence to prevent a decision in favor of Sheptyts'kyi's cathedral chapter. The Basilians and Sierakowski said that the Eastern Church did not have cathedral chapters or consistories; therefore, they argued, Sheptyts'kyi was proposing a Latinizing innovation that could only alienate Eastern Christians and contribute to the maintenance of the schism.[33] One of the members of Sheptyts'kyi's unconfirmed chapter, Antonii Levyns'kyi, expressed quite the opposite point of view. The opposition to the chapter on the part of the Polish hierarchy, he wrote in a letter in 1773, was a clear example of Latin oppression of the Uniates and as such might even drive Ukrainian Uniates back into schism.[34]

In 1772, of course, Lviv came under Austrian rule and the political struggle over the cathedral chapter changed venue from Warsaw to Vienna. This change was eventually to work in favor of the secular clergy in all respects, including with respect to the cathedral chapter. The Austrian empress Maria Theresa was an enlightened absolutist determined to raise the status of the Greek Catholics, as she renamed the Uniates, and to enforce equality between the Latin and Greek rites, goals which could only be served by confirming a Greek Catholic cathedral chapter in Lviv. Her son and co-ruler, Joseph II, and her and Joseph's outstanding advisor, Kaunitz, were deeply distrustful of monastic orders and very concerned to improve

[33] A. S. Petrushevych, *Svodnaia halychsko-russkaia litopys' s 1772 do kontsa 1800 hoda*, pt. 2 (=*Lyteraturnyi sbornyk*, 1888) (Lviv, 1889), pp. 139–41. Malynovs'kyi, *Die Kirchen- und Staats-Satzungen*, pp. 362–67. ASV, ANV, 65, pp. 167–68. The Vatican at first accepted this argument. *Litterae S.C. de Propaganda Fide Ecclesiam Catholicam Ucrainae et Bielarusjae spectantes*, vol. 5: *1758–1777*, ed. Athanasius G. Welykyj (Rome, 1957) (=Analecta OSBM, ser. 2, sec. 3)), pp. 187–88. For additional discussion of the chapter question, see ASV, ANV, 75, pp. 115–15v, 116v.

[34] Levyns'kyi's letter is a very moving and revealing document, well worth quoting at length: "...szkoda, żeśmy się czego uczyli; bo gdybyśmy byli nic tak iak nasi Oycowie nie umieli i nie wiedzieli, tobyśmy i tych krzywd, które niewinnie ponosimy, nie poznawali, a per consequens nie tylko te nas poniżenie, ale y podwod, iak nasi Oycowie czynili, odbywanie nakoniec y samey pańszczyzny robić nakazywanie iako głupim y niewiadomym nie było nam tak przykre, iak uciązliwości teraźnieysze. A ieśli by się nam były sprzykrzyły Pańszczyzny y podwody, to iako prostacy Schizmatycy łatwo mogli byśmy byli znaleźć Protekcyą u Moskwy, teraz w całey Europie apprehensią maiącey. I pewnie prędzey byśmy ią byli tam znaleźli, iak teraz w Rzymie. Boga proszę, aby mi dał trwąlość w Wierze świętey y nie przypuścił na mnie apprehensyi do desperacyi prowadzącey. Że propter fidem opprimimur a Moschis, opprimimur według ich zdania sprawiedliwie, iako od nich odszczepieni, y to nam iest gloriosum et meritorium. Ale że opprimimur propter Ritum Catholicum a Catholicis, to wzbudza żal nieznośny y do tey desperacyi przywodzi.... Szkoda, że Konfederatom nie powiodło się, boby nas już moze byli wycięli, y zaspokoili się, a tak biią nas biią, a nie zabiią.... Niech się wola Boza dzieie, ia tego tylko boię się, aby takowe Latinis in Urbe pobłażanie, a nas za nic mianie, gorszey iak Cerulariusz nieznowiło Schizmy." Ant. Petrushevych, "Akta otnosiashchiiasia do zatverzhdeniia Kapytuly Epyskopskoho Sobora vo L'vovi," *Halychanyn*, bk. 1, no. 1 (1862), p. 141.

pastoral work, attitudes which would incline them in favor of the arguments of the bishop and the secular clergy rather than those of the monks. Thus, it is not surprising that on 15 June 1774 Empress Maria Theresa issued a decree approving the cathedral chapter in principle and stating that the erection of the chapter was a most suitable means to promoting the Union.[35] Archbishop Sierakowski traveled to Vienna to argue in person against the empress's decision and other representations were made, but the empress did not change her mind on the issue.[36] On 17 December 1776 she issued a resolution stating that she was prepared to confirm the erection of the chapter, but requested information from Sheptyts'kyi about its organization and funding. After the information was received and examined, she informed the bishop on 3 January 1778 that she would confirm the chapter in the near future.[37] But neither the empress nor the bishop lived to see the final resolution of the issue.

Still, Bishop Sheptyts'kyi was on sure enough ground in the Austrian period that he could develop his plans further. He worked to end the Basilians' monopoly of the episcopate. This can be seen partly as an extension of the establishment of a cathedral chapter; having called into being a stratum of the secular clergy with higher education, significant responsibility, and greater ambition, it was natural to allow members of this group the possibility of advancement to episcopal office. Partly too, of course, the recruitment of his successors from the secular clergy would help preserve Bishop Sheptyts'kyi's work to protect the secular clergy and eparchial property from the Basilian order. The Basilians continued to argue that bishops could only be chosen from the religious clergy in the Ukrainian Church,[38] but on 22 January 1779 the empress declared she had the right to nominate bishops from either the secular or regular clergy.[39]

The final aspect of Bishop Sheptyts'kyi's program of action was the reassertion of episcopal jurisdiction over the order. In 1770 he appealed to the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide to protect his right to grant the imprimatur to Basilian publications.[40] He went much further in the Austrian period. In March 1774, both he and the bishop of Peremyshl', Atanasii Sheptyts'kyi, appealed to the Austrian government for the complete

35 Harasevych, *Annales*, p. 556.
36 Korczok, *Die griechisch-katholische Kirche*, p. 62.
37 Korczok, *Die griechisch-katholische Kirche*, p. 62. Harasevych, *Annales*, p. 556.
38 ASV, ANV, 65, pp. 166–67; see also 75, pp. 113–20v.
39 Pelesh, *Geschichte der Union*, 2:627. Petrushevych, *Svodnaia halychsko-russkaia litopys*, p. 124.
40 *Litterae*, 5:163.

resubordination of the Basilian order to episcopal authority.[41] The Basilians protested strenuously against this reform,[42] which would seriously have undermined their position, particularly with respect to the property disputes. The matter was not resolved until the Josephine era.

By the late 1770s, Bishop Sheptyts'kyi was also making headway in Rome. On 13 March 1779, the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide wrote to him, condemning in strong terms the cupidity and pretensions of the Basilians and urging the bishop to stand firm and maintain his authority.[43] Bishop Sheptyts'kyi thanked the congregation on 12 May 1779,[44] and within two weeks passed away.

With the death of Bishop Leo Sheptyts'kyi, the question of whether only Basilians could be elevated to the episcopal dignity was posed concretely and acutely.[45] Empress Maria Theresa nominated Petr Biliansky, a secular priest, in fact, canon (*Domherr*) of the Lviv cathedral chapter. The Basilians resisted the nomination fiercely, both in Vienna and Rome, but only succeeded in delaying, not preventing, his consecration. The Vatican tried to make Biliansky enter the order *pro forma*, but he altogether refused; for a long time he even refused to request a dispensation from the monastic profession, as provided for by article 6 of the Zamość synod. Biliansky wanted to force the point that a secular priest could become bishop. And, on 23 September 1781, already during the reign of Emperor Joseph II, he did become the first candidate from the secular clergy to be elevated to episcopal rank in the Ukrainian Catholic Church.[46] This settled the issue once and for all. Although the Basilians reiterated their claims to the Lviv

41 Petrushevych, *Svodnaia halychsko-russkaia litopys'*, pp. 56–60. Malynovs'kyi, *Die Kirchen- und Staats-Satzungen*, pp. 348–51.

42 Malynovs'kyi, *Die Kirchen- und Staats-Satzungen*, p. 351. ASV, ANV, 65, pp. 159–65v. At one point (p. 163v), the Basilians even advanced the curious argument that it was better to have the monks exempt from episcopal authority in case a Greek Catholic bishop should become a schismatic (Orthodox).

43 Harasevych, *Annales*, pp. 536–37. Also in ASV, ANV, 65, p. 153. Partially quoted also in *Pelesh, Geschichte der Union*, 2: 567.

44 Harasevych, *Annales*, pp. 537–38. ASV, ANV, 65, pp. 153–53v.

45 *Litterae S.C. de Propaganda Fide Ecclesiam Catholicam Ucrainae et Bielarusjae spectantes*, vol. 6: *1778–1790*, ed. Athanasius G. Welykyj (Rome, 1957) (=Analecta OSBM, ser. 2, sec. 3), pp. 56, 59.

46 *Modern Encyclopedia of Religions in Russia and the Soviet Union* (forthcoming), s.v. "Biliansky, Petr," by John-Paul Himka. *Litterae*, 6: 56, 59–61, 67–68, 72, 88–91, 104–5, 114–15, 118–19. Further documentation of the controversy over Biliansky's nomination can be found in *Epistolae metropolitarum, archiepiscoporum et episcoporum*, vol. 8: *Epistolae Jasonis Junosza Smogorzevskyj Metropolitae Kiovensis Catholici (1780-1788)*, ed. Athanasius G. Welykyj (Rome, 1965) (=Analecta OSBM, ser. 2, sec. 3), pp. 245–75.

episcopate during the vacancies of 1798 and 1805–1806, nothing came of these efforts.[47]

The property disputes between the Basilians and the bishops and secular clergy were also settled definitively. On 17 April 1779, just weeks before his death, Bishop Sheptyts'kyi received a favorable settlement from the Austrian authorities; the Lviv and Halych cathedrals and their appurtenances were declared the property of the bishop, not of the monks. On 30 November 1780 the Basilians were ordered to leave St. George's Cathedral; although some remained in the buildings until 1817, the issue had been basically settled.[48]

In 1781–1782 and 1786 Joseph II subordinated Austrian monks in general and the Basilians in particular to the authority of the hierarchy.[49] With this legislation, almost all that Bishop Leo Sheptyts'kyi had pressed for during his lifetime was brought to fruition. The only outstanding issue was that of the cathedral chapter, which had been on the verge of settlement in 1778. This was not settled definitively in the Josephine period; in fact, Vienna did not finally confirm Greek Catholic cathedral chapters for Lviv and Peremyshl' until 1813 and 1817, and Rome not until 1864.[50] However, by the early 1780s the issue of the cathedral chapter had developed a new set of complications that had nothing to do with the Basilians. The Basilians lost power completely in the 1780s. Emperor Joseph II, as is well known, closed many monasteries of many orders throughout the Habsburg monarchy. The Basilians of Galicia were not able to avoid the common fate and

[47] Pelesh, *Geschichte der Union*, 2:633–34. Malynovs'kyi, *Die Kirchen- und Staats-Satzungen*, pp. 405–16; see also pp. 466–85 for a document of the metropolitan ordinariate from 1830 still discussing the question whether only monks can become bishops in the Eastern Church. After the death of the Peremyshl' bishop Maksymylian Rylo in 1794, a Basilian was not to assume the episcopal dignity in Western Ukraine until 1899 when Andrei Sheptyts'kyi became bishop of Stanyslaviv. The leading Ukrainian newspaper of the time, *Dilo*, warned that this would bring about a "repetition of that period in the history of the Uniate Church when the order of St. Basil the Great stood at the head of the white clergy and brought the clergy to that miserable state from which Austria finally delivered our church." "Halytskii mytropolyt," *Dilo* 20, no. 7 (1899): 1.

[48] Harasevych, *Annales*, pp. 551, 557. Petrushevych, *Svodnaia halychsko-russkaia litopys'*, p. 138. Malynovs'kyi, *Die Kirchen- und Staats-Satzungen*, pp. 382–84. Chotkowski, *Historya*, 2:468–69. In 1780 the monks were also ordered to return to the bishop all documents relating to the property of the Lviv bishopric, but no documents were handed over until 1786. Rumors circulated that most of the papers of the former St. George's Monastery were turned over to the monastery in Pochaiv. The cathedral in Kam''ianets'-Podil's'kyi was not at issue here, because Kam''ianets' was under Polish rule. In 1795 it would pass under Russian rule and the Union would be violently eliminated.

[49] Petrushevych, *Svodnaia halychsko-russkaia litopys'*, p. 155. Pelesh, *Geschichte der Union*, 2:736. Harasevych, *Annales*, p. 610.

[50] Korczok, *Die griechisch-katholische Kirche*, pp. 65–66.

suffered substantial reduction. Joseph thought to leave them with only six monasteries, but in the end they were able to rescue fifteen.[51] Still, they ceased to be an influential factor in the West Ukrainian Church; indeed, they entered upon a period of grievous decline, which was not to be interrupted until a major reform was undertaken in 1882, a century after they had lost their struggle with the secular clergy.

University of Alberta

[51] Vavryk, *Narys*, p. 56. Forty-two Basilian monasteries had passed to Austria in 1772. Pidłypczak-Majerowicz, *Bazylianie*, p. 23.

The Kachkovs'kyi Society and the National Revival in Nineteenth-Century East Galicia*

PAUL ROBERT MAGOCSI

Most Slavic peoples, including Ukrainians, experienced a national revival in the nineteenth century. At the time, the vast majority of Ukrainians (approximately 85 percent) lived in the tsarist Russian Empire, with the remainder living within the neighboring Austro-Hungarian Empire. Although numerically smaller than their brethren in the Russian Empire, Ukrainians in politically more liberal Austria-Hungary had much greater opportunities to develop a national revival. This began seriously during the revolutionary years of 1848–1849, blossomed during the 1880s and 1890s, and finally culminated in the first decade and a half of the twentieth century. Of the Ukrainian-inhabited lands in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, it was most especially in the largest region—roughly the eastern half of the Austrian province of Galicia—that the national revival was played out in full force.[1]

In the course of the national revival, cultural organizations played a crucial role in transmitting cultural and national awareness from the educated elite—the intelligentsia—to the peasant masses, who made up nearly ninety

* The period of national revival in late nineteenth-century East Galicia is marked by potential confusion about the terminology used by local writers in describing the East Slavic population. The terms *russkyi*, *rus'kyi*, *rusyn*, *ukrains'kyi* are among those most frequently encountered, some or all of which may be synonyms, depending on the ideological convictions of the author. In an attempt at consistency and the avoidance of undue confusion, I have decided to render *russkyi*, *rus'kyi*, and *rusyn* as Rus'; *ukrains'kyi* as Ukrainian; and the less frequent *rosiis'kyi* as Russian. Also, in an attempt to cut down on lengthy repetitions in the footnote references, the organizational name, Obshchestvo im. Mykhaila Kachkovs'koho, will be rendered by the initials OMK.

For transliteration, a modified Library of Congress system is used. Personal names of Galician Rus' activists are rendered in modern Ukrainian. Titles of works by Old Ruthenians (written in the "historic" Galician Rus' language) follow the Library of Congress transliteration, with the following additions: ô = ô; ѣ = î; and ы = ŷ.

[1] For a useful introduction to the Ukrainian national revival in East Galicia during the second half of the nineteenth century, see Ivan L. Rudnytsky, "The Ukrainians in Galicia Under Austrian Rule," in Andrei S. Markovits and Frank E. Sysyn, eds., *Nationbuilding and the Politics of Nationalism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), pp. 23–67. For further literature on the subject, see the bibliographical essay by Paul R. Magocsi, in ibid., pp. 255–320, and the more extensive discussion in idem, *Galicia: A Historical Survey and Bibliographic Guide*, 2nd ed. (Toronto, 1985), esp. pp. 116–73.

percent of Galicia's Ukrainian population. The first modern Ukrainian cultural organizations came into being in 1848, when the Galician-Rus' Matytsia and a Chair of Rus' Language and Literature at the University of Lviv were established. That same year also witnessed the establishment of the first Ukrainian newspaper, *Zoria halyts'ka* (1848–57), and the beginnings of a fund-raising drive to create a National Center (Narodnyi Dim), which was opened in 1849. During the next half century, several other Ukrainian cultural organizations came into being, including university chairs, a wide variety of publications in all fields, and an unofficial academy of sciences known as the Shevchenko Scientific Society.

Yet among all these cultural organizations, the most influential for the national revival were those that reached directly into the villages, where they had an impact on the daily lives of peasants. In Ukrainian-inhabited Galicia there were two such popular-education societies, the Prosvita Society (Tovarystvo "Prosvita") established in 1868 and the Kachkovs'kyi Society (Obshchestvo Kachkovs'koho) established in 1874. Each lasted until the outbreak of World War I and even beyond, so that both were active throughout the whole era of the Galician-Ukrainian national revival.

Despite the importance of both the Prosvita Society and the Kachkovs'kyi Society for the development of a national consciousness in Ukrainian Galicia, only Prosvita has been analyzed with any seriousness.[2] In an effort to correct that imbalance, this essay provides at least the broad outlines of the history of the Kachkovs'kyi Society from its establishment in 1874 until the outbreak of war in 1914, that is, during the period which coincides with the height of the Ukrainian national revival in East Galicia. Following a review of existing literature on the subject, the focus of attention rests on the establishment and structure of the Kachkovs'kyi Society, its activity, and its historical evolution and ideology.

LITERATURE AND SOURCES ON THE KACHKOVS'KYI SOCIETY

The scant secondary literature on the Kachkovs'kyi Society is limited primarily to works published before 1910. Of this material, the most extensive includes a memorial book published on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the society's activity (1899) and a rare and virtually inaccessible history by P.O. Goptsus published in the Russian Empire at the outset of the twentieth century.[3] Besides these early works, all that remains are a few short articles

[2] Magocsi, *Galicia*, pp. 37 and 144.

[3] O. A. Monchalovskii, *Pamiatnaia knyzhka v 25-lîtnii iuvylei Obshchestva ymeny Mykhaylo Kachkovskoho, 1874–1899*, Izdanie OMK, no. 285 (Lviv, 1899); P.O. Goptsus, *Zarubezhnaia Rus' v bor'be za svoiu natsional'no-kul'turnuiu samobytnost': Narodnoprosvetitel'naia*

and encyclopedic entries on Mykhail Kachkovs'kyi in which the society named after him is mentioned, [4] some comments on the society in more general studies that deal with the so-called Russophile movement in Galicia,[5] and passing references to the society in general histories[6] and in memoirs or essays by contemporaries, whether by visitors from the Russian Empire like Mykhailo Drahomanov and Elizaveta de Vitte[7] or by local Galician activists like Mykhailo Pavlyk, Ivan Franko, and Kost' Levyts'kyi.[8]

There are several reasons for the dearth of literature on the Kachkovs'kyi Society. While individual histories of other Old Ruthenian and Russophile cultural organizations in Galicia have been published,[9] the Kachkovs'kyi Society, with its more populist and less "scholarly" concerns, seemed less important. For other reasons, the society has been of little concern to both Soviet and non-Soviet Ukrainian historians writing in the period since World War II. They simply have disregarded the earlier assessment of Franko—that the Kachkovs'kyi Society "published a series

deiatel'nost' Obshchestva imeni Mikhailo Kachkovskogo v Galitskoi Rusi, osnovannogo prosvetitelem ee o. Ioannom Naumovichem (Poltava, 1909).

4 Afanasii Vasil'ev, "Mikhail Alekseevich Kachkovskii i obshchestvo ego imeni na Galitskoi Rusi," *Izvestiia Sankt-Peterburgskogo slavianskogo blagotvoritel'nogo obshchestva*, vol. 5 (1888), reprinted in his *Zarubezhnaia Rus'* (Petrograd, 1905), pp. 1–6, and in *Russkaia beseda* 1, no. 8 (1895): 99–108; J. Hejret, "Spolek Michaila Kačkovského," *Česka osvěta*, no. 10 (Prague, 1909); and the most recent, Jarosław Moklak, "Mychajlo Kaczkowskij i czytelnie jego imienia na Łemkowszczyznie," in *Magury '87* (Warsaw, 1987), pp. 52–64.

The longest encyclopedic entry on Kachkovs'kyi with a description of the society is in the tsarist Russian *Èntsiklopedicheskii slovar'*, vol. 14a (St. Petersburg, 1895), pp. 814–15. It is interesting to note that the most important pre-World War I Polish encyclopedia, Samuel Orgelbrand's *Encyklopedja powszechna* (Warsaw, 1898–1912), did not carry any entry on Kachkovs'kyi, but that the analogous Czech encyclopedia did include a brief entry on him by the Prague specialist on Ukrainian affairs, František Řehoř, *Ottův slovník naučny*, vol. 13 (Prague, 1898), p. 729.

5 Mykola Andrusiak, *Narysy z istorii halyts'koho moskvofil'stva* (Prague, 1935), pp. 42–45; Stefan A. Fentsik, "Galitsiia," *Karpatskii svet* (Uzhhorod), 1, no. 10 (1928): 380–82.

6 Omelian Ohonovskii, *Ystoriia lyteraturŷ ruskoy*, vol. 2 (Lviv, 1889), pp. 89–90; Filipp I. Svistun, *Prikarpatskaia Rus' pod vladeniem Avstrii* (1896), 2nd rev. ed. (Trumbull, Conn., 1970), pp. 417–18.

7 Mykhailo Drahomanov, "Avstro-rus'ki spomyny" (1889–92), in his *Literaturno-publitsystychni pratsi*, vol. 2 (Kiev, 1970), esp. pp. 254–57; Elizaveta de Vitte, *Puteviia vpechatleniia s istoricheskimi ocherkami: Leto 1903 g., Bukovina i Galichina* (1904), 2nd ed. (Bridgeport, Conn., 1977), esp. pp. 226–44.

8 Mykhailo Pavlyk, "Pro rus'ko-ukrains'ki narodni chytal'ni" (1887), in his *Tvory* (Kiev, 1985), pp. 233–35; Ivan Franko, "Narys istorii ukrains'ko-rus'koi literatury do 1890 r." (1910), in his *Zibrannia tvoriv*, vol. 41 (Kiev, 1984), pp. 331 and 420; Kost' Levyts'kyi, *Istoriia politychnoi dumky halyts'kykh ukraintsiv 1848–1914*, pt. 1 (Lviv, 1926), pp. 146–47.

9 For instance, the Stauropegial Institute has an extensive literature, while the Galician Rus' Matytsia and National Home are each the subject of at least one major study. See Magocsi, *Galicia*, pp. 35–36.

of books that were important for the practical life of the peasantry"[10] —and the conclusion of Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi regarding the national orientation that the Kachkovs'kyi Society epitomized: "The so-called 'provincial Muscophiles'... are in no way Muscovites or Russians despite what their Lviv critics may say; they are simply Old Ruthenians—that is, Ukrainians also, even if they have old-fashioned and strange views.... They are a very useful force whether in economic or political work, and without them one cannot carry on any work in the countryside, because they are the real power among the local intelligentsia."[11] Instead, most Soviet and non-Soviet Ukrainian historians seem intent on dismissing the Kachkovs'kyi Society outright, or at best in criticizing it for its supposed Russophile, conservative, clerical, tsarist, and, worst of all, "anti-revolutionary" tendencies.[12] It is only in the past few years that two Canadian specialists on Ukrainians in Galicia have called for a reassessment of the Kachkovs'kyi Society and for a dispassionate analysis of its historic role.[13]

Unpublished sources on the Kachkovs'kyi Society are held in the Central State Historical Archive in Lviv. Colleagues who have recently reviewed the archival fond devoted to the organization report that it only contains minutes and reports similar to those available in published sources.[14] This study is based on materials in the contemporary press from the time of the establishment of the Kachkovs'kyi Society in 1874 until its first demise following the outbreak of World War I in 1914.

Although the society never had its own newspaper or journal, several periodicals provided systematic coverage of its activity. In this regard, the most important were the newspapers *Slovo* (Lviv, 1861–87), *Chervonnaia*

[10] Franko, "Narys istorii," p. 420. See also the positive assessment of Andrusiak, *Narysy z istorii*, pp. 42–45.

[11] Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi, "Konets' rutenstva," *Literaturno-naukovyi vistnyk*, 40 (Kiev and Lviv, 1907), p. 139.

[12] The Kachkovs'kyi Society is given a negative assessment in a brief entry in the non-Soviet Ukrainian *Entsyklopediia ukrainoznavstva*, vol. 5 (Paris and New York, 1966), p. 1807, while neither it nor Kachkovs'kyi himself have any entry at all in either the first or second editions of the *Ukrains'ka radians'ka entsyklopedia* (Kiev, 1959–65 and 1977–85) or the *Radians'ka entsyklopediia istorii Ukrainy* (Kiev, 1969–72).

[13] John-Paul Himka, *Socialism in Galicia: The Emergence of Polish Social Democracy and Ukrainian Radicalism (1860–1890)* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), p. 42, mentions the "progressive qualities" of Russophilism. Stella M. Hryniuk, in her "A Peasant Society in Transition: Ukrainian Peasants in Five East Galician Countries, 1880–1900" (Ph.D. diss., University of Manitoba, 1984), esp. pp. 175–79, after discussing in some detail the Kachkovs'kyi Society's activity at the local level, suggests that "it is possible that its contribution to Ukrainian enlightenment in East Galicia has been underestimated."

[14] The Lviv archival fond in question is 182: "Materialy ob organizatsionnoi i propagandistskoi diiatel'nosti Obshchestva im. M. Kachkovskogo" (1879–1909). I am grateful to Dr. Stella Hryniuk, who reviewed the fond at my request.

Rus' (Lviv, 1888–91), and *Halychanyn* (Lviv, 1893–1913), which carried once each year the full texts of the Kachkovs'kyi Society's annual reports (*otchety*) as well as descriptions throughout the year of the activity of the society's affiliates. Four other periodicals—*Nauka* (1871–99, 1902–14), *Russkaia rada* (1871–1912), *Russkoe slovo* (1890–1914), and *Golos naroda* (1909–1915)—were less systematic in reproducing the annual reports, but they did provide detailed descriptions of the society's annual meetings and other activity throughout each year. Thus, the contemporary Galician press provides extensive data to trace the history and development of the Kachkovs'kyi Society.

THE ESTABLISHMENT AND STRUCTURE OF THE KACHKOVS'KYI SOCIETY

The idea to establish the Kachkovs'kyi Society originated with the Reverend Ivan Naumovych (1826–1891), a Greek Catholic priest in the town of Skalat not far from the Russian border. Naumovych was already well known throughout Ukrainian-inhabited Galicia as the author of several widely read short stories and plays and as the founding editor of the popular journal for rural domestic affairs, *Nauka*. In short, Naumovych's influence and popularity were based on the fact that he knew how to reach the Galician Ukrainian peasantry, not only to speak their language but to respond to their needs. He was a classic populist, whose primary life goal was to raise the cultural level of the Galician Ukrainian masses by working with them and at their level, or in his words, by going to the people (*k narodam*).[15]

Indeed, two other cultural organizations were already in existence; the Galician Rus' Matytsia from 1848 and the more recent Prosvita Society from 1868. However, the Matytsia limited itself to publishing an irregular and rather esoteric scholarly journal, while Prosvita, which was established to correct the Matytsia's isolation, did not (at least initially) do much better. For instance, during its first eight years of existence, only 564 persons

[15] Naumovych's role was even recognized by his adversaries, such as the socialist and Ukrainophile activist Mykhailo Pavlyk. Otherwise opposed to the conservative, clerical, Orthodox, and pro-Russian views of Naumovych, Pavlyk could nonetheless write that Naumovych "rendered a great service in the enlightenment of the Rus' people of Galicia!...because despite himself he cleared the Galician ground for true Ukrainophilism, even more so than most certified populists, since he readied the masses of our people for Ukrainianism." M. Pavlyk, *Moskvofil'stvo ta ukrainofil'stvo sered avstro-rus'koho narodu* (Lviv, 1906), p. 45.

On Naumovych's career, see the two biographies by, respectively, his Old Ruthenian and Russophile ideological descendants: O. A. Monchalovskii, *Zhyt'e i dîiatel'nost Ivana Naumovycha* (Lviv, 1899) and Vasilii R. Vavrik, *Prosvititel' Galitskoi Rusi Ivan G. Naumovich* (Lviv and Prague, 1926).

joined Prosvita, whose high dues and cost of publications closed out the peasant masses, making it just another cultural society "for the intelligentsia."[16]

It was in these circumstances that the newly elected deputy to the national parliament in Vienna (1873), Ivan Naumovych, decided to act. While his new position did not garner for his people any concrete advantages from the Austrian government, it did give him a chance to interact in Vienna with leaders of other Slavic national revivals.

Generally, it is thought that the Galician Ukrainian national revival looked to the Poles, the Serbs, and most especially the Czechs to point the way. While this is true in general, in the case of Naumovych he found encouragement in the Slovenes, numerically the smallest Slavic people in the Habsburg Empire, divided geographically and administratively between Carniola and five other Austrian provinces. From Slovene representatives in Vienna, Naumovych learned of their struggle for national survival in the face of Germanization, and he was particularly impressed with the popular Slovene cultural society known as the Society of St. Hermagoras (Druzhba sv. Mohorja). This was actually a publishing house whose members (23,000 in the mid-1870s) guaranteed through their annual dues the publication of books in Slovene that no commercial publisher would be willing financially to underwrite.[17] Thus, reasoned Naumovych, if the numerically small Slovenes could survive in the face of German influence, so, too, could the Rus' people of Galicia stand up to the Poles.[18]

With the Slovene model in mind, Naumovych turned first to the Galician Rus' Matytsia and Prosvita Society, recommending that they dissolve themselves, join forces, and create a single publishing house. When his proposal was rejected, he decided instead to form a new cultural organization. On 20 August 1874, he summoned a group of Galician-Rus' patriots, not to the Polish-dominated provincial capital of Lviv, but to the small town of Kolomyia tucked in the Carpathian Mountain valleys of southeastern Galicia. About 300 people gathered in Kolomyia, half of whom were peasants from

16 Mykhailo Lozyns'kyi, *Sorok lit diial'nosty 'Pros'vity'* (Lviv, 1908), p. 10.

17 For an introduction to the Hermagoras Society in the context of similar organizations, see Stanley B. Kimball, *The Austro-Slav Revival: A Study of Nineteenth-Century Literary Foundations*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, vol. 63, pt. 4 (Philadelphia, 1973), p. 66.

18 On the influence of the Slovenes on Naumovych, see his statements in "O obshchestvî Mykhayla Kachkovskoho," *Russkaia rada* (Kolomyia), 5, no. 24 (1875): 190, and "Poslanie k vsîm nashym chlenam OMK y dobrŷm liudam, shchyrŷm Rusynam!," *Kalendar OMK na hod prostŷi 1885* (Lviv, [1884]), pp. 69–71; as well as O. A. Monchalovskii, "Rîch, proiznesennaia v heneral'nom sobraniy chlenov OMK, 17 (29) sentiabra v Ternopolî," *Slovo*, 29 September and 2 October 1884, pp. 1–2 and 1–2.

the local countryside, to form what became known as the Mykhail Kachkovs'kyi Society (Obshchestvo im. Mykhaila Kachkovskoho).

But why was the new society named after Mykhail Kachkovs'kyi? Kachkovs'kyi (1802–1872) was an Austrian civil servant, who in 1848 began a rather uneventful career as a judge at the district court in Sambir, where he acquired a reputation for defending peasants whenever disputes with manorial landlords were brought before him regarding forest and pasture rights.[19] Unmarried and with no other family obligations, he attained a certain amount of wealth which he used to support a few important publications in the late 1850s. In 1861, he provided funds for the establishment of the newspaper *Slovo*, which for nearly two decades was to be the authoritative organ of the Old Ruthenian orientation in Galician Ukrainian society; then, in 1871, he provided funds to help Naumovych publish a popular journal (*Nauka*) and newspaper (*Russkaia rada*) written in the vernacular. When Kachkovs'kyi died unexpectedly a few months after his retirement in 1872 while on a trip to the Russian Empire, he left in his estate the sum of 60,000 guldens to the National Center (Narodnyi Dim) in Lviv for the "publication of books for the spiritual welfare of the Rus' people."[20] Two years later, Naumovych thought that by naming his new society after Kachkovs'kyi and by carrying out the publication goals of the deceased's will, the fledgling organization would surely be guaranteed the endowed funding. Even though the matter was contested in Austrian courts for over a decade, in fact the National Home never released the funds, so that the society named for him never received any income from the Kachkovs'kyi estate.[21]

With no funding from the Kachovs'kyi estate or, with a few exceptions very much later, any funding from the Austrian central or Galician provincial governments, the Kachkovs'kyi Society had to survive solely on support from its own members. Moreover, since the vast majority of those

[19] For further details on Kachkovs'kyi, see the only significant biography, Bohdan A. Dîdytskii, *Mykhayl Kachkovskii y sovremennaia halytsko-russkaia lyteratura: Ocherk biohrafycheskii y ystoryko-lyteraturnŷi* (Lviv, 1876); on the backround to forming the Kachkovs'kyi Society, see Pavlyk, "Pro. . . chytal'ni," pp. 226–33.

[20] From a speech by Kachkovs'kyi in Sambir (13 November 1860), as recorded by B. A. Dîdytskyi, "Vspomynka o M. Kachkovskom," *Slovo*, 9 (21) November 1885, p. 1.

For the text of the will, see "Zavîshchanie Mykhayla Kachkovskoho, ehozhe slavnoe ymia nashe Obshchestvo nosyt," in *Yliustrovannŷi kalendar' OMK na hod prostŷi 1886* (Lviv, [1885]), pp. 155–60.

[21] I. Naumovych, "O obshchestvi Mykhayla Kachkovskoho," *Russkaia rada* (Kolomyia), 5, no. 24 (1875): 190. Several sources still assume incorrectly that the Kachkovs'kyi Society was funded by the Kachkovs'kyi estate. Cf. the editorial note in Franko, *Zibrannia tvoriv*, p. 624.

members consistently came from the peasantry, it could in fact be called a national society.

The basic goals of the Kachkovs'kyi Society were outlined in the first paragraph of its statutes issued at the founding meeting in Kolomyia: "to spread knowledge, morality, industriousness, thriftiness, sobriety, civic awareness, and all aspects of integrity among the Rus' people of Austria" (see appendix 1). These goals were frequently summed up in the slogan, "study, pray, work, and prosper" (*uchysia, molysia, pratsiui, statkui*; or *molys', uchys', trudys' i shchady*, depending on the language of the author), which appeared over and over again in the annual reports and speeches of society members. It seemed to Naumovych and to most of his successors that the best way to achieve those goals was through the "diffusion of inexpensive and useful booklets among our Rus' people living in the Austrian state."[22]

The structure of the Kachkovs'kyi Society was the following. Individual members paid only 1 gulden annually in return for which they received gratis a publication each month, including the society's annual almanac.[23] (It is interesting to note that for the first nine years of its existence, Kachkovs'kyi's older rival, the Prosvita Society, charged 2 guldens to become a member plus nearly 8 guldens annual dues; moreover, publications had to be purchased by Prosvita members.)[24]

According to a revision of the statutes made in 1875, Kachkovs'kyi Society members belonged to local affiliates, which could be formed whenever at least twenty members submitted a petition to the central branch in Lviv for approval. The affiliates were generally based in district centers and were responsible for the territory of the given district (*Bezirk*/*povit*). Of the fifty-five districts in Ukrainian-inhabited eastern Galicia, the Kachkovs'kyi Society had affiliates at some time or other in thirty-two districts, with a total of thirty-one affiliates in 1913 (see appendix 2). The affiliates carried on their own cultural activity and were entitled to 10 percent of the annual dues of members living within their jurisdiction, the remainder going to the central branch. The founding statutes already made provision for the establishment of reading rooms, which could be set up with a minimum of twelve members (see appendix 1, section 7).

22 "Zahal'noe sobranie obshchestva Mykhayla Kachkovskoho otbudesia v Stryî dnia 22. lat. (10 rus) serpnia seho roku," *Russkaia rada* (Kolomyia), 6, no. 15 (1876): 110.

23 "Otchet OMK. . . 1876–1877," *Slovo*, 27 September 1877, pp. 1–2.

24 Lozyns'kyi, *Sorok lit*, p. 10, actually states 4 crowns membership and 1.4 crowns monthly, which after conversion (1 gulden equaled 2 crowns before 1892) equal the figures given here.

The central branch itself was first located in Kolomyia (on Honchars'ka Street), but as a result of an extraordinary general meeting held in January 1876, it was decided to change its location to Lviv. For nearly the next three decades, the central branch had its offices in the National Center (Narodnyi Dim at 22 Teatral'na Street) in downtown Lviv, for which it paid rent, until it was finally able to purchase its own building in 1904 at no. 14 on nearby Valova Street.

The governing body of the central branch and the Kachkovs'kyi Society as a whole was its central committee (*tsentral'nyi vydil*), composed of twelve members, of which eight were full members and four were alternates. Among the eight full members there were four officers—a chairman, vice-chairman, secretary, and treasurer. The central committee was elected at each annual meeting by dues-paying members in attendance, and it was responsible for all policy and financial aspects of the society's activity. Not surprisingly, the first chairman elected was the person who conceived the idea of the society, Ivan Naumovych, and in the period until World War I there were only four other chairman (see appendix 3), those with the longest tenure being Bohdan Didyts'kyi (1884–1903) and Fylyp Svystun (1903–1914).[25] All work by the officers was done on a voluntary basis, Didyts'kyi gaining his livelihood, for instance, as curator of the National Center and Svystun as a *gymnasium* teacher.

The original statute (see appendix 1) suggested the Kachkovs'kyi Society was to represent the Rus' people throughout all of Austria, and at its founding and subsequent annual meetings much emphasis was given to the representation from neighboring Bukovina. It was also because of the Bukovinian presence that the religious issue arose. When at the second meeting held in historic Halych a local Galician Greek Catholic priest expressed concern that the Orthodox Bukovinian guest and his fellow Galician Rus' were of a different religion, the speaker was criticized "because our members did not meet here for religious speeches but for the purposes of raising the level of education and welfare of the people."[26]

Bukovinian participation at annual meetings was to continue and already by 1876 there were eight Kachkovs'kyi reading rooms in Bukovina. This was in sharp contrast to Subcarpathian Rus' in Hungary where, during a

[25] For biographies of the first four chairmen, see Monchalovskii, *Pamiatnaia knyzhka*, pp. 6–8, 113–20.

[26] "Zahal'noe sobranie OMK v Halychy," *Russkaia rada* (Kolomyia), 5, no. 17 (1875): 132. It is interesting to note that it was also at this meeting that the suggestion of the university student and future radical politician, Mykhailo Pavlyk, to have the Gospel "translated into the popular speech," was turned down. "Otchet yz vtoroho heneral'noho sobraniia OMK," *Slovo*, 19 August 1875, p. 1.

period of increasing magyarization before World War I, there was no participation or seemingly even awareness of the Kachkovs'kyi Society.[27] This was confirmed during a visit to the area by Mykhailo Drahomanov (1841–1895), who, during an interview with the well-known Subcarpathian writer and archimandrite of the Mukachevo Monastery, Anatolii Kralyts'kyi (1834–1894), later recalled: "I couldn't believe my ears: the archimandrite of a Rus' monastery, a contributor to *Slovo*, and he never saw a publication of the Kachkovs'kyi Society until [I] a Ukrainophile from Russia brought them to him."[28] On the other hand, the Kachkovs'kyi Society did make its presence felt among immigrants to the New World (mostly from Subcarpathian Rus' and the Lemko region), and beginning in the 1890s it frequently sent its publications to immigrant organizations in the United States, Canada, and Brazil. By 1903, there were 139 Kachkovs'kyi Society members in the United States, most of whom were in branches located in Seymor, Connecticut, and in Olyphant and Shamokin, Pennsylvania.[29]

THE ACTIVITY OF THE KACHKOVS'KYI SOCIETY

We have seen how Naumovych's idea for creating the Kachkovs'kyi Society sprang from the success of a Slovene publishing house. While it is true that the Kachkovs'kyi Society with its various affiliates became increasingly involved in other kinds of activity, the "main task of the central committee" remained throughout its history the publication program. Its importance was further underlined by the fact that the chairman of the central committee was simultaneously responsible for publications.

The object of the publication program was accessibility and frequency. This meant small booklets (generally between 75 and 125 pages) published each month and sent gratis to all members. In practice, members received a booklet on an average ten to eleven times a year (the summer months were often doubled-up); after 1885 this included the society's annual farmer's almanac (*kalendar*) that usually was large enough to cover the page

[27] One commentator suggested that in the 1880s the Subcarpathian Rusyns were still "with us," but that "since that time they have no contacts with us as if they were not of Rus' origin." "O heneral'nôm sobraniiu chlenôv OMK v Kolomŷî," *Russkaia rada*, (Kolomyia), 34, no. 17 (1905): 134.

On the magyarization process in Subcarpathian Rus' and decreasing contacts with Galicia, see Paul Robert Magocsi, *The Shaping of a National Identity: Subcarpathian Rus', 1848–1948* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), pp. 55–75.

[28] Drahomanov, "Avstro-rus'ki spomyny," p. 276.

[29] "OMK: Spravozdanoe. . . za lîta 1894–95 y 1895–96," *Russkoe slovo* (Lviv), 7, no. 35 (1896): 6; "OMK: Otchet o diiatel'nosty tsentr. vŷdîla," *Halychanyn*, 8 September 1897, pp. 1–2; *Halychanyn*, 30 September 1903, pp. 1–2.

allotment for two months. The monthly series was officially known as the *Izdaniia Obshchestva ymeny Mykhayla Kachkovskoho* (Publications of the Mykhail Kachkovs'kyi Society), and between 1875, when the first booklet appeared, to the outbreak of World War I over 460 numbers were issued in the series.

Considering the double numbers assigned to certain titles, there were at least over 400 booklets that appeared between 1875 and 1914.[30] The size of the printings remained stable for each number within a given year (with the almanac usually printed in an extra 1,500 copies), but that size was to change from decade to decade depending on the society's membership. The initial four numbers (1875) came out in printruns of 10,000, but thereafter dropped to 6,000 and then after 1879—the lowest point in membership—to 5,500 and 5,200. It was not until the 1890s that the printings were again increased, culminating during the first decade of the twentieth century in 8,500 (1900) and then 10,500 (1904).

Since the Kachkovs'kyi Society was so consistent in getting out its monthly publications, during the thirty-eight years to 1914, it printed perhaps over 2.5 million copies. The importance of the publication program was confirmed by the annual budgets, over half of which each year went for editorial and printing costs.[31] Just what were these publications? Did they fulfill the intended goal of the society's statute: "to spread knowledge, morality, industriousness, thriftiness, sobriety, and civic awareness"? First of all, with regard to form, they were all written in the so-called traditional Galician-Rus' book language, that is, basically Galician-Ukrainian vernacular with a significant number of archaic forms and Church Slavonic influences and a lesser number of Russian influences. This book language was used in church books and had been taught in elementary schools at least until the 1870s. Moreover, in a semi-literate, conservative, and rural environment sensitive to any changes away from traditional

30 I am not aware of any complete list of all Kachkovs'kyi Society publications. The estimate given here is based on the annual reports (*otchety*), which indicated the numbers in the series published in a given year and often provided titles as well. The most comprehensive list available (before 1893) is found in Ivan Em. Levytskii, *Halytsko-russkaia bybliohrafiia XIX-ho stolittia*, vol. 2: *1861–1886* (Lviv, 1895), and the supplements under the title *Materiialy do ukrains'koi bibliografii: Ukrains'ka bibliohrafiia Avstro-Uhorshchyny za roky 1887–1893*, 3 vols. (Lviv, 1909–11). See also the discussion of the society's publishing activity and lists of publications (to 1905) arranged according to subject matter in Goptsus, *Zarubezhnaia Rus'*, pp. 72–82.

31 For instance, looking at a typical budget during an early and later period, printing, binding, and postage costs represented 51 percent of expenses during the fiscal year 1885–1886 and 50.5 percent in the 1900–1901 fiscal year. *Slovo*, 3 (15) September 1886, p. 3; *Halychanyn*, 13 September 1901, pp. 1–2.

forms, the etymological alphabet was used, with its *iery* [ы], *iat* [ѣ], and hard sign [ъ]. Thus, the Kachkovs'kyi Society publications had a familiar look and were perceived by the peasant masses to be "our" Galician Rus' books.[32]

In terms of content, each booklet included a single title or, more often, several titles. The subjects were either of a practical nature, concerning farming and personal health care, or were devoted to moral (i.e., religious) and civic concerns (Austrian citizenship, Galician Rus' history), or aimed at exposing the masses to culture, whether in "high" forms through works by renowned Russian authors like Gogol and Tolstoy, or in more popular forms through plays and short stories by local Galician authors like Ivan Naumovych, Ievhenii Zhars'kyi (1834–1892), Dmytro Vintskovs'kyi (1846–1917), and Orest Avdykovs'kyi (1843–1913). In fact, the titles from the first year set the tone that would be followed for the next four decades. Among these were: "What Does a Person Need to Know About Health?" by Dr. Kornylii Merunovych; "Notes on the Use of Plants for Human Consumption" by P. V.; "Domestic Flocks" by Ignatii Hal'ka; "Vodka—the Ruination of Man and How to Overcome It"; "On the Planting of All Kinds of Trees," "Dwellings for Sheep," and "What Our Houses Should Look Like," all by Mykhail Klemertovych; "God Be With Us" by Ivan Naumovych; "Love for the Fatherland" by V. Ruzhyts'kyi; "On the Rights and Duties of Citizens at the Village, District, Province, and State Level" by Ignatii Hal'ka; "A Conversation Between an Illiterate Father and Learned Son" by I. Sh.; literary works by Orest Avdykovs'kyi, Ievhenii Zhars'kyi, and Dmytro Tretiak, and several reports on the society itself.

Throughout the four decades of the Kachkovs'kyi Society's publication program, one title was singled out as the "crown of our educational work."[33] This was the *Slaviano-russkii bukvar* (Slaveno-Rus' Primer) published in 1895 in an initial printing of 20,000. This was the largest printrun of any Kachkovs'kyi Society publication, and its seeming popularity led to a second printing—this time 30,000 copies—in 1905.[34] In essence, the primer was not only an elementary educational tool; it became an element in the society's ideological struggle to preserve the traditional Galician-Rus'

[32] This was in sharp contrast to the populist Ukrainophiles who, beginning in the 1870s, gradually introduced the phonetic alphabet, whose "strangeness" often alienated unsophisticated readers. On the alphabet and related problems, see Paul R. Magocsi, "The Language Question as a Factor in the National Movement in Eastern Galicia," in Markovits and Sysyn, *Nationbuilding*, pp. 220–38.
[33] Cited from chairman Bohdan Didyts'kyi's opening speech at the twenty-second annual convention in Stanyslaviv, "Narodnyi prazdnyk," *Russkoe slovo* (Lviv), 7, no. 35 (1896): 1.
[34] "OMK v 1905/6 hodu," *Halychanyn*, 19 September 1906, pp. 1–3.

book language and etymological alphabet in the face of the phonetically based alphabet of the Ukrainian vernacular which had been officially recognized by the Austrian provincial school administration in 1893.

Besides the publication program, the other way in which the Kachkovs'kyi Society advertised itself and tried to gain new members was through its annual conventions. Although the founder Naumovych quipped that "we could not have made a greater mistake than to designate Kolomyia as the seat of our headquarters,"[35] his own preference for Lviv did not blind him to the necessity that the Kachkovs'kyi Society avoid the example of all other Galician-Rus' societies, which often closed themselves off in the "big city," far from the provincial environment of the smaller towns and countryside.[36] Thus, to avoid the pitfalls of isolation for an organization whose goals were precisely to work among the masses, the Kachkovs'kyi Society used its annual conventions as an instrument for "going to the people." Each year, the annual conventions were held in a different Galician town, with the thirty-eight conventions held between 1874 and 1912 alternating between Brody (2 times), Drohobych (3), Halych (1), Jarosław (1), Kalush (1), Kolomyia (4), Lviv (12), Peremyshl' (Przemyśl) (2), Sanok (2), Sambir (2), Stanyslaviv (2), Stryi (2), Ternopil' (3), and Zolochiv (1) (see appendix 4).

According to the founding statute, the annual conventions were to be held each August 20 (August 8, old style), the day of Mykhail Kachkovs'kyi's death. While the founding meeting and some of the early conventions were held on or near that day, the norm soon became the second to third week of September, when the bulk of the harvest was in, allowing more peasant agriculturalists to attend. In a sense, the annual conventions became national holidays, which usually drew a few thousand participants and in some cases as many as 5,000, making them among the largest Rus' manifestations in Galicia and lending some credence to the standard description, *narodnyi prazdnyk*, given them by the Old Ruthenian and Russophile press.

A typical national convention was the one held in Kolomyia in 1905.[37] The participants arrived the day before and already at 7:30 P.M. on the eve of the meeting there was a parade with choral music, torches, and lanterns that wound its way through the streets of Kolomyia, culminating at the local

[35] From the chairman's speech at the extraordinary third convention in Lviv, "Heneral'noe sobranie chlenov OMK," *Slovo*, 13 January 1876, p. 1.

[36] For instance, the headquarters of the Prosvita Society was in Lviv and this, combined with other reasons, led to the popular view that Prosvita was *pans'ke*—for the upper echelons; while Kachkovs'kyi was *khlops'ke*—for the peasant masses. Andrusiak, *Narysy z istorii*, p. 43.

[37] Based on the description in *Russkoe slovo*, 11 August 1905, p. 1.

Kachkovs'kyi Society reading room, where a theatrical performance began at 9:00 P.M. On the day of the convention, the proceedings began at 8:00 A.M. with a liturgy and *panakhyda* (memorial service) for Mykhail Kachkovs'kyi and deceased members of the society in the local Greek Catholic church. This was followed at 10:00 A.M. by a parade from the church to the city park, where at 10:30 A.M. the meeting was formally opened by the singing of the hymn of the Slavic patron saints, Cyril and Methodius: "Slava Vam bratia."

After a break for luncheon, the proceedings resumed outside at noon with a welcome speech by the chairman of the society, Pylyp Svystun. This was followed by the reading of congratulatory telegrams, the election of a board of comptrollers, a reading of the financial report for the previous fiscal year (1904–1905), a speech by a woman villager, a poetry reading, the report of the board of comptrollers, and election of the chairman and central committee for the following year. Each of these activities was, of course, accompanied with speeches by—to quote the words of one outside visitor—"Galician orators. . . who are incapable of speaking briefly, clearly, and to the point," so that "to survive a Galician meeting is a difficult task even for an educated person, let alone a simple one."[38] When all was finally said and done late in the afternoon, the meeting closed with the singing of "Khto za namy, Boh za nym."

With formal affairs out of the way, the evening was left to a public festival that included theatrical performances, a concert by a military band and the local Kolomyia choir, a firework display at 8:30 P.M., and finally a public ball from 10:00 P.M. until the wee hours of the morning. The following day was reserved for a trip to the Hutsul resort of Iaremche along the Prut River, after which the participants returned home on foot, if they were from nearby villages, or by train if they were part of the central branch's delegation from Lviv or from other branches.

The main object of the annual meetings was to bring Galician Ukrainians together and give them a sense of their national unity through social contact and relaxation at the same time as they were exposed to patriotic speeches and cultural performances. The effort must have been successful since, with only a few exceptions, the Kachkovs'kyi Society conventions continued to attract thousands of participants right down to the last meeting (1912) held before World War I. Moreover, the few proposals made in the

[38] This description, generally applicable to Galician Ukrainian society (as well as to immigrant descendants of that society in North America), actually pertained to the 1876 annual convention. Drahomanov, "Avstro-rus'ki spomyny," p. 255.

mid-1880s to hold meetings only once every three years were never adopted.[39]

The annual meetings also provided the motivation for another important aspect of Kachkovs'kyi Society activity—agricultural work. Already in 1875, just one year after the society was founded, it was agreed to emend the statute, "so that at the national conventions exhibits would be set up to display tools and agricultural products."[40] The first of these exhibits accompanied the annual meetings in 1879 (Stanyslaviv) and in 1880 (Kolomyia). They were enormously popular, because they spoke the language known best by the population of the rural area; namely, the visual language of exhibits which included displays of the newest crops like American potatoes, "Mamut" beets, kohlrabi, soybeans, and free seed samples of these and other agricultural products. The peasants were also able to get concrete ideas from other parts of the exhibit, which displayed the newest tools, milk and meat products, handicrafts, and domestic animals—chickens, geese, etc.[41] Whereas agricultural exhibits were held at a few subsequent annual conventions (Sanok, 1900, and bee raising at Kolomyia, 1905), this activity was basically left to the affiliates, which mounted their own exhibits, usually in conjunction with their own general meetings.

The central branch was more active in sponsoring courses such as fruit-raising and orchard care (1906), local store managing (1906–07, 1911–12), buttermaking and milk products (1908–09, 1911–12), and animal care (1911–12), all of which were held in or near Lviv.[42] More ambitious was a scholarship program begun in 1906 for five young peasants to spend five and one-half months (April 1–September 15) as guests of the Economic Union (Hospodařský Svaz) in Chrudim, Bohemia. There they learned advanced agricultural techniques and cooperative ventures from Czech farmers. The Kachkovs'kyi Society's Bohemian scholarships lasted until 1912.[43]

39 Actually, a resolution for meetings to take place on a three-year cycle was adopted at the thirteenth annual convention in Sanok (1885), but apparently it was never followed. "XIII hener. sobranie chlenov OMK v Sianokî," *Slovo*, 31 August 1885, pp. 1–2.

40 "Otchet yz vtoroho heneral'noho sobraniia OMK," *Slovo*, 14 (26) August, 1875, p. 1.

41 *Russkaia rada* (Kolomyia), 9, no. 17–18 (1879): 125–26, and 10, nos. 4 and 7 (1880): 32–33 and 60–61; *Slovo*, 14 February 1880, p. 1; 24 April 1880, p. 2; and 9 September 1880, p. 2.

42 See the reports in *Russkoe slovo* (Lviv), 17, no. 37 (1906): 5, and in *Halychanyn*, 12 and 13 September 1907, pp. 1–2 and 2–3; 1 October 1909, p. 2; 30 September 1910, p. 1; and 20 September 1912, p. 2.

43 See the report of a participant during the first year of the program in *Russkoe slovo* (Lviv), 17, no. 37 (1906): 1–2.

Perhaps the most successful of the central branch's agricultural activities was the establishment in 1909 of an agricultural office. The office became a distribution center for all kinds of agricultural products, the most popular of which were fertilizers and seeds for feed grains.[44] The demand for agricultural-related activity remained so great that finally, in 1907, the Kachkovs'kyi Society started its own newspaper, a monthly *Ekonomychnyi lystok*, devoted almost exclusively and quite aptly to agricultural matters.[45]

Another rural concern was the need for fire companies. In 1904, the central committee decided to issue statutes for volunteer fire companies and to provide instruction to members on how to become effective firefighters at the village level. By 1909, the number of volunteer fire companies had risen to 119.[46]

There were also, of course, the reading rooms, whose existence was provided for in the society's founding statute, provided there was a request by at least twelve members in a given village. (See appendix 1, section 7.) The central committee issued charters to reading rooms and these were treated as individual members, thereby entitling them to receive the monthly publication series as well as duplicate copies of books sent out periodically by the central branch. It is interesting to note that Kachkovs'kyi publications were sent to its own as well as to some Prosvita reading rooms, who were also paid members of the society.

The real growth of the reading rooms took place around the turn of the twentieth century, although because of great fluctuation at the village level (inactivity or permanent or temporary change of allegiance to the Prosvita Society) it is difficult to obtain any reliable figures. For instance, on the occasion of the Kachkovs'kyi Society's twenty-fifth anniversary in 1899, the memorial volume listed 559 reading rooms. A decade later, the official annual report for 1911–1912 mentioned 1,225 reading rooms, but at the same time it admitted that many of these existed solely on paper and that the actual number was probably closer to 800.[47] Similarly, the number of affiliates increased from twenty-one in 1899 to thirty-one in 1913 (see appendix 2). Finally, there were student dormitories, of which the

44 During its first year of operation, August 1909 to April 1910, the agricultural office distributed forty railroad boxcar loads of fertilizer. *Halychanyn*, 30 September 1910, p. 1. Cf. the report in *Halychanyn*, 20 September 1912, p. 2.

45 *Ekonomychnyi lystok* appeared in 8 issues in 1907 and, under the title *Lystok*, in 11 issues in 1908 as a supplement to the monthly booklets.

46 *Halychanyn*, 7 September 1905, pp. 1–2; and ibid., 1 October 1909, p. 2.

47 Monchalovskii, *Pamiatnaia knyzhka*, pp. 105–12; OMK annual report for 1911–1912 in *Halychanyn*, 21 September 1912, p. 2. During the same period (1910) the Prosvita Society claimed 2,376 reading rooms. Volodymyr Doroshenko, *'Prosvita': Ii zasnuvannia i pratsia* (Philadelphia, 1959), p. 24.

Kachkovs'kyi Society operated eight by 1910. In most cases, poor students in local *gymnasia* were given free or greatly reduced living accommodations and meals.[48]

Thus, by the first decade of the twentieth century, the Kachkovs'kyi Society had a seemingly large number of affiliates (31), reading rooms (1,225), fire companies (119), and student dormitories (8), but this tells us little about its actual assets. Only very few of the buildings used by Kachkovs'kyi-related entities actually belonged to the society. In fact, its largest asset was the building for its central branch in Lviv, bought in 1904 after a decade-long fund-raising campaign and valued in 1912 at 183,170 crowns. Besides this it also owned two homes in Brody, property in Sokal', and minor undeveloped land in a few villages, all of which was bequeathed to the society after the death of certain members.[49] But whether or not the Kachkovs'kyi Society actually owned the buildings and settings that carried its name, it was nonetheless able through its publication program, annual conventions, agricultural programs, volunteer fire departments, reading rooms, and student dormitories to fulfill in large measure its basic goal of raising the cultural level, self-esteem, and in part the economic capability of the Ukrainians in Galicia.

THE EVOLUTION AND IDEOLOGY OF THE KACHKOVS'KYI SOCIETY

One way to trace the evolution of a self-supporting organization like the Kachkovs'kyi Society is to look at the growth of its membership. To be sure, membership figures, like those recording the number of reading rooms, need to be treated with caution. Nonetheless, they provide at least some idea of the relative fluctuations in the society's fortunes.

The expectations of the society's founder, Naumovych, who used as his model the numerically strong Slovene St. Hermagoras Society, proved to be overly optimistic. The original plan in 1874 (confirmed by the large print-runs of the first four publications) was for the Kachkovs'kyi Society to have

48 Student dormitories were operated by Kachkovs'kyi Society affiliates in Brody, Drohobych, Kaminka Strumylova, Rava Rus'ka, Sambir, Stanyslaviv, Zhovkva, and Zolochiv. See the OMK annual report for 1909–1910 in *Halychanyn*, 2 October 1910, p. 2.

49 Figures on all property (valued at 212,234 crowns in 1912) are from the OMK annual report for 1911–1912 in *Halychanyn*, 24 September 1912, p. 2.

The three-story building with two facades at 14 Valova Street in the center of Lviv was purchased on 24 March 1904 for 166,000 crowns, of which 71,983 was collected during a building drive, the remainder being paid by two mortgages (20,000 and 94,016). See the OMK annual report for 1903–1904 in *Halychanyn*, 9 September 1904, pp. 1–2.

10,000 members after the first year.[50] However, after one year, only 1,439 members were registered. In fact, the 10,000 figure for active dues-paying members was not attained until thirty-six years later, when in 1910 the society reached its highest point, recording 10,700 members. (See appendix 5.) Nonetheless, the Kachkovs'kyi Society remained until the outset of the twentieth century the largest Galician-Ukrainian cultural society, having registered a total of 25,422 members between 1874 and 1912. Its closest rival, the six-year-older Prosvita Society, caught up in membership only in 1905–1906, after which it became the larger of the two organizations, both in current numbers and in the overall total of members ever registered.[51]

More interesting is the social composition of the Kachkovs'kyi Society members. The society's aim was to reach the rural masses of Galicia, and in this it was successful since the majority of its members at any one time was always peasants. Although we did not have access to membership rolls (which may or may not have indicated social status), we do have data from 1884–1885 and 1890–1891 on new members, according to social status:[52]

	Total	*Priests*	*Teachers/ Civil Servants*	*Townsmen*	*Peasants*	*Organizations*
1884–85	392	20	49	34	180	104
1890–91	858	40	46	—	749	38

It is clear that for each of these representative years peasants formed by far the largest number of new members. Moreover, the respective percentages of peasant membership—45.9 percent in 1884–1885 and 87.2 percent in

[50] *Slovo*, 10 (22) August 1874, p. 1.

[51] Most of the literature that mentions in passing or deals specifically with the Prosvita Society claims that it had always been much larger (in terms of membership) than the Kachkovs'kyi Society. Such claims are invalid, since they are based on the practice of citing for any given year all members that had belonged to Prosvita (including deceased or former members) at any time since its establishment in 1868. For instance, *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopedia*, vol. 2, ed. Volodymyr Kubijovyč (Toronto, 1971), p. 337, claims 19,000 Prosvita members in 1905, when in fact there were only about half that figure, or 8,500. The important distinction between all-time totals and membership in a given year is made in the first important historical survey of the Prosvita Society, which for 1908 shows an all-time total of 23,164 members as well as the "real number of members" in that year—about half, or 12,000. That same year Prosvita claimed 2,043 reading rooms. Lozyns'kyi, *Sorok lit*, pp. 36 and 47. The closest comparative figures for both organizations are from 1906:

	Kachkovs'kyi	*Prosvita*
Total members	19,710	20,085
Members in 1906	9,229	10,000
Reading rooms	1,261	1,693
Affiliates	26	39

[52] These statistics are drawn from the OMK annual reports for 1884–1885, in *Slovo*, 23 November 1885; and for 1890–1891, in *Russkoe slovo* (Lviv), 2, no. 34 (1891): 4.

1890–1891—should be considered the minimum, since most of the new members listed under "organizations" were reading rooms located in villages and made up almost exclusively of peasants.

Although we have no concrete data on women members, we do know that the Kachkovs'kyi Society included them. Already at the second annual convention in 1875 the question of women members was discussed as "a matter of great importance," because "it is from the breast of the mother that the child begins to learn how to love its homeland and Rus' mother tongue."[53] Women were frequent speakers at the annual conventions and affiliate meetings, although it was not until 1910 that a woman (Maria Koliankivs'ka, the wife of a *gymnasium* director) became a member of the central committee in Lviv. We also know that during the 1909–1910 campaign to collect funds for the Kachkovs'kyi Society, thirty-three of the forty-four districts in Galicia included women donors, and that in several districts they formed a majority or plurality of those who gave.[54]

The role of priests and the attitude of the Kachkovs'kyi Society toward them was more problematic. Much of the literature on Galicia in the late nineteenth century describes the Kachkovs'kyi Society as one of many in which priests played a dominant role. In certain affiliates, priests were indeed prominent. However, members frequently spoke out against the upper classes and the priesthood, especially the hierarchy, who in contrast to "the good old days" did not participate in or support the Kachkovs'kyi Society.[55]

Beyond the realm of impressions, it should be noted that priests played a very small role in the leadership and operation of the organization. Of the five chairmen between 1874 and 1914 (see appendix 3), two were priests (the founder Ivan Naumovych and the Reverend Feofil Pavlykov), but they headed the organization for only seven of those forty years. Moreover, no priest ever held the influential posts of secretary or treasurer, and at any one time there were at most only two out of twelve members on the central

[53] Cited from a report on the second annual convention, "Zahal'noe sobranie OMK v Halychy," *Russkaia rada* (Kolomyia), 5, no. 16 (1875): 132.

[54] A full list of the names of donors appears as a supplement to issue 207 of *Halychanyn*, 29 September 1910.

[55] Cited from the invitation to the eighteenth annual convention in Ternopil', *Russkoe slovo* (Lviv), 1, no. 30 (1890): 2–3. The good old days referred primarily to 1848–1849, when the head of the Supreme Ruthenian Council was under the leadership of the Greek Catholic Metropolitan Hryhorii Iakhymovych and Canon Mykhailo Kuzems'kyi, whose concerns with the political and cultural needs of the population were contrasted to the ostensibly more passive church leadership and clerical rank-and-file of the 1870s and 1880s, which "takes such an indifferent attitude to the important matter of popular culture and education." Cited from a letter from Drohobych in *Slovo*, 3 June 1880, p. 1.

committee who were priests. Thus, in terms of its membership and leadership, the Kachkovs'kyi Society remained from its foundation in 1874 until World War I a peasant-based organization led by a secular intelligentsia who for the most part were journalists, teachers, and most especially lawyers or court officers.

A glance at the yearly membership statistics (appendix 5) shows that after getting off to a slow but steady growth pattern, the Kachkovs'kyi Society began to decline in the late 1870s, reaching a low point in 1884. Thereafter, it began slowly to recover, until in the late 1890s it finally reached the level of membership it had had twenty years earlier. From then on there was a steady increase until 1910, after which a leveling-off and perhaps a new decline were setting in. The reason for these fluctuations had to do with the internal policy of the Kachkovs'kyi Society as well as external events.

After the initial establishment and flush of enthusiasm had passed, members began to criticize the Kachkovs'kyi Society for doing little other than publishing books—which was, of course, one of its main goals.[56] Moreover, in the late 1870s reports continually suggested that the dozen or so affiliates were, with few exceptions, doing little. True, successful agricultural exhibits were organized at the 1879 and 1880 annual conventions, but these, it was argued, had a limited effect on the vast majority of Galician Ukrainian peasants.

Then, in 1882, came the widely publicized trial in Lviv against eleven Austrian Rus' leaders suspected of conspiring with the Russian Empire to commit treason against Austria.[57] Among the accused were the founding chairman of the Kachkovs'kyi Society, the Reverend Ivan Naumovych, and his successor as chairman, Viktor M. Ploshchans'kyi (1834–1902). Even though they and the other accused were acquitted, the two men soon emigrated to the Russian Empire. Despite their departure, back home in Galicia the damage was done. The Kachkovs'kyi Society and its leaders—in particular, its founder Naumovych, always given unlimited praise—were

[56] The early criticism that "only books were being published," *Russkaia rada* (Kolomyia), 9, no. 1 (1879): 4, was still being reiterated two decades later: "The booklets, it is true, are with few exceptions quite good, but we simply consider this to be limited editorial work which any one talented person could accomplish without a central branch and without so many affiliates." From the speech of a member at the twenty-third annual convention in Drohobych, cited in *Russkaia rada* (Kolomyia), 26, no. 12 (1897): 89.

[57] Actually, the two main defendants were the Subcarpathian Rusyn political leader Adol'f Dobrians'kyi and his daughter Olga Grabar (mother of the distinguished twentieth-century Soviet art historian, Igor Grabar), who were living in Lviv because of the pressure against them for their political activity in Hungary. "Protses rusynov v sudî karnom v Lvovî: akt obzhalovania," *Russkaia rada* (Kolomyia) 12, no. 12 (1882): 34–37.

suspected of being agents and part of a front organization for the anti-Austrian interests of the Russian Empire in Galicia. Loyal pro-Habsburg Ukrainian peasants stopped paying their dues, and the tenth annual convention held in Lviv after the close of the trial in 1882 attracted only 160 participants.[58]

In short, by the 1880s, the Kachkovs'kyi Society had few friends. The provincial diet and Polish-dominated administration, which had always been reluctant to relinquish any funds to Rus'-Ukrainian organizations, was certainly not about to do so for suspect ones. Analogously, the Austrian government in Vienna remained increasingly suspicious of any movement that would enhance the interests of its Russian imperial rival in the East, while the new metropolitan of the Greek Catholic Church, Syl'vester Cardinal Sembratovych (1836–1898, consecrated 1885), was not about to make the mistake of his predecessor and tolerate, let alone support, the activity of the "suspicious" Kachkovs'kyi Society.[59] Finally, local populist-Ukrainophile activists (*narodovtsi*), who had always been opposed to the Kachkovs'kyi Society on ideological grounds, began in the 1880s to step up their attacks.

In such circumstances, the Kachkovs'kyi Society had only a few members of the Galician Diet and Vienna Parliament of the Old Ruthenian political persuasion to speak up on its behalf. But there was never any real hope of government support. For instance, while the Prosvita Society received a subsidy each year from the Galician provincial government (2,000 crowns between 1870–1876 and 1884–1907, then progressively 6,000 and 8,000 crowns),[60] the Kachkovs'kyi Society's every request was refused until 1910, when it received its first grant of 9,000 crowns, followed by another in 1911 of 6,000 crowns specifically for economic-related activity. However, subsequent grants were dependent on the organization

[58] *Slovo*, 21 August 1882, p. 1; *Russkaia rada* (Kolomyia), 12, no. 16–17 (1882): 122. The negative impact of the 1882 trial on the Kachkovs'kyi Society was still being written about years later. N. Holovka, "O obshchestvî Kachkovskoho," *Russkoe slovo* (Lviv), 1, no. 25 (1890): 4–5. For the contemporary Polish Catholic view, which considered the OMK and its publications dangerous and religiously "schismatic," see "Towarzystwo ruskie imienia Kaczkowskiego," *Przegląd Kościelny* (Poznań), 10, no. 2 (1888): 786–88.

[59] Actually Syl'vester Sembratovych's predecessor (and relative), Metropolitan Iosyf Sembratovych, was forced out of office in 1882 because of the treason trial. For criticism of Metropolitan Syl'vester Sembratovych and the Polish viceroy of Galicia, Count Casimir Badeni, as being the cause of the sad fate of the Kachkovs'kyi Society by the end of the nineteenth century, see *Russkoe slovo*, 13 September 1901, p.1.

[60] Lozyns'kyi, *Sorok lit*, pp. 62–64.

proving its ideological loyalty to Austria.[61]

Friction between the governmental authorities and fellow populist-Ukrainians took several forms. During the so-called New Era of the early 1890s, when efforts were made to bring the Poles and Ukrainians closer together through political compromise, the Galician viceroy singled out in a speech to the Diet in 1892 the government's need to be vigilant toward the suspect Kachkovs'kyi Society. The viceroy couched his suspicions by raising the specter of an Orthodox threat from the Russian east: "We cannot be indifferent when a society, in which we see Catholic priests, publishes books which on the first page include well-known figures who have left the faith for the great schism."[62] That same year, the society's annual almanac was confiscated, and two years later the 1894 almanac was threatened with the same fate because a spot was ostensibly found on the eye of the emperor in a portrait that appeared in the volume.[63] Then in 1911, the society was forbidden, in the interests of public order, from holding its thirty-seventh annual convention out-of-doors in Lviv, while two years later the planned thirty-ninth annual convention was banned entirely (just one week before delegates were to arrive) on the grounds that there was a cholera epidemic in the province.[64]

With the populist Ukrainians, interestingly enough, the Kachkovs'kyi Society initially had normal and even friendly relations. The future socialist politician Mykhailo Pavlyk (1853–1915) attended the founding and second annual convention of the Kachkovs'kyi Society, where he proposed that it publish the Bible in the Galician vernacular. Pavlyk's proposal was turned down, and in general he and other younger figures like Ivan Franko

61 The grant figures are taken from the society's annual report for 1910–1911 in *Halychanyn*, 27 September 1911, p. 2. As for proving ideological loyalty, the Kachkovs'kyi Society could only receive future 9,000-crown grants for publications if its booklets appeared in the local Galician Ukrainian language, and specifically not in Russian. From the society's 1912–1913 annual report in *Golos naroda*, 3 October 1913, pp. 4–5.

62 The viceroy's reference was obviously to Naumovych and his conversion to Orthodoxy, to which the Kachkovs'kyi Society's chairman and secretary issued an official statement praising their founder's cultural work but disavowing his "political activity" and Orthodox conversion. B. A. Didytskii and I. N. Pelekh, "Otvît na napast'," *Russkoe slovo* (Lviv), 3, no. 29 (1892): 1–2.

63 The pedantic concern with the details of this incident on the part of the local Austrian authorities has all the makings of a ridiculous plot for a Viennese operetta. The incident was brought to the provincial criminal courts; only seventeen issues were found to have the "spot"; concern was still high for the seventeen peasants who had the "seditious" material; in the end, the court annulled the confiscation order. The details of the saga of the spotted almanacs are provided in "Snesenŷ konfiskatŷ kalendaria OMK," *Russkoe slovo* (Lviv), 5, no. 20 (1894): 1–2, and "(Ôtozva do chlenôv OMK," ibid., 5, no. 27 (1894): 3–4.

64 "Narodnŷi prazdnyk," *Russkoe slovo*, 5 October 1911, p. 1; "Obshchoho sobraniia chlenôv OMK ne bude!," *Holos naroda*, 24 September 1913, p. 1.

(1856–1916), who called the Kachkovs'kyi Society the "most important organization for raising the material standards of the people," became alienated because they were kept out of leadership roles and because of their own change to a populist Ukrainian national orientation under the impact of Drahomanov.[65] Nonetheless, the Kachkovs'kyi Society did welcome the creation of the Ukrainian Radical party in 1890, in which Pavlyk and Franko played leading roles.[66]

As for the Ukrainophile Prosvita Society, it was for the longest time not considered a rival but rather a partner in the common goal of educating the Galician Rus' people. Thus, at its founding in 1874, the influential populist-Ukrainian journal *Pravda* commented that the "newly established [Kachkovs'kyi] Society should attract support among every patriotic Rusyn,"[67] while as late as 1892, the Kachkovs'kyi Society welcomed the creation of Prosvita affiliates which might attract "new members from among those peasants, teachers, and civil servants who—only God knows why—might be afraid to belong to the Kachkovs'kyi Society."[68]

By the first decade of the twentieth century, however, friction replaced mutual tolerance. In 1908, the influential Ukrainian daily newspaper, *Dilo*, accused the Kachkovs'kyi Society of being an "agent of Moscow,"[69] and from 1906 on, when all but two of its annual conventions were held in Lviv, Ukrainian students tried to disrupt what they called "Muscovite" meetings, either by heckling speakers and throwing stones or attacking the building of the Kachkovs'kyi central branch.[70]

65 Ivan Franko, "Kil'ka sliv o tim, iak uporiadkuvaty i provadyty nashi liudovi vydavnytstva" (1882), in his *Tvory*, vol. 19 (Kiev, 1956), p. 24. On the rejection of the younger populists from the Kachkovs'kyi Society, see *Russkaia rada* (Kolomyia), 5, no. 17 (1875): 131–33; and *Pravda* (Lviv), 9, no. 16 (1876): 635–38.

66 "Kol'ko slôv o t.z. 'radykalakh'," *Russkoe slovo* (Lviv), 5, no. 50 (1894): 2–5.

67 *Pravda* (Lviv), 7, no. 13 (1874): 568.

68 *Russkoe slovo* (Lviv), 3, no. 27 (1892): 7.

69 "Diial'nist' tovarystva im. Kachkovs'koho," *Dilo*, 24 and 25 September 1908, p. 1 and p. 2. According to a Prosvita Society activist, the populist-Ukrainophile view was that the Kachkovs'kyi Society did positive work, especially in producing popular publications, until the 1890s, after which it began to publish in an artificial language that no one could understand. Cf. Ivan Bryk, "Korotkyi ohliad ukrains'koi populiarnoi literatury v Halychyni," in Ivan Bryk and Mykhailo Kotsiuba, eds., *Pershyi ukrains'kyi pros'vitno-ekonomichnyi kongres uladzhenyi Tovarystvom 'Pros'vita' u L'vovi. . .1909 roku: Protokoly i referaty* (Lviv, 1910), pp. 116–17.

70 See the reports on the 1907, 1911, and 1912 annual conventions in *Russkoe slovo* (Lviv), 18, no. 36 (1907): 1–2; 22, no. 41 (1911): 1–3; and 23, no. 25 (1912): 2–3. The attack on the Kachkovs'kyi Society in Lviv occurred in November 1912 and caused damage estimated at 300 crowns. See the annual report for 1912–1913 in *Holos naroda*, 24 September 1913, pp. 5–6.

As a result of the prewar international tension between Russia and Austria, and the increasing intolerance of local Ukrainians toward what had become "Muscovite" enemies (Old Ruthenians as well as Russophiles) in their midst, the Kachkovs'kyi Society began what seemed to be a period of new decline. It was reported that as many as five society-sponsored student dormitories (in Chortkiv, Kaminka Strumylova, Rava Rus'ka, Zhovkva, and Zolochiv) were closed by the Austrian authorities, while "long-standing members were asking the central committee to remove their names, albeit temporarily, from the membership rolls and not to send them publications."[71] Moreover, the talk of war and mobilization made it impossible to send agricultural students to Bohemia or to organize other courses in Galicia as had been done in the past. Thus, even before the outbreak of the war in August 1914, the future of the Kachkovs'kyi Society seemed in doubt, prompting its central committee to issue a declaration in which it stated flatly that "our society is being threatened with closure."[72]

But why was the society on the decline once again, and why was it the focus of attack on the part of the Austrian central government, the Polish-dominated provincial Galician administration, and local Ukrainophiles? In large part, the reasons have to do with the group's national ideology.

In essence, the Kachkovs'kyi Society was an ideological child of the so-called Old Ruthenian (*starorusyny*) movement in Galician-Ukrainian society, whose main characteristic could be described as wanting to maintain the status quo. Whereas such a position would seem ideal for the ruling Austrian authorities, it in effect proved to be dangerous in a Galician environment in which both Poles and populist Ukrainians were continually pushing for changes that would enhance their own political status in local affairs and perhaps someday even lead to political independence. The Old Ruthenians, most of whom were in leadership positions in the Kachkovs'kyi Society (Bohdan Didyts'kyi, Pylyp Svistun, Osyp A. Markov, Osyp Monchalovs'kyi) were certainly united on one issue—opposition to what they considered Polish political and cultural infiltration and dominance over historically Rus' (East) Galicia.[73]

[71] *Holos naroda*, 24 September 1913, pp. 5–6.

[72] "Pros'ba k chlenam OMK," *Russkaia rada* (Kolomyia), 41, no. 2 (1912): 1.

[73] For details on the Old Ruthenian movement, see Paul R. Magocsi, "Old Ruthenianism and Russophilism: A New Conceptual Framework for Analyzing National Ideologies in Late 19th-Century Eastern Galicia," in Paul Debreczeny, ed., *American Contributions to the Ninth International Congress of Slavists*, vol. 2 (Columbus, Ohio, 1983), pp. 305–24.

In that regard, their only seeming ally was the Austrian Habsburg throne, which in the past (and ostensibly in the future) had protected them from the inroads of Polish aristocratic and bureaucratic rule and its corollary the Roman Catholic Church. Within such a constellation, it was not difficult to understand why at Kachkovs'kyi Society meetings speakers would frequently—and genuinely—refer to the eighteenth-century Empress Maria Theresa (during whose reign Galicia had become part of Austria) as a "second Moses," who liberated the Galician Rus' people after 432 years of "Polish-Egyptian" slavery,[74] or that if ever they needed to "send a delegation to the monarch [Franz Joseph], he for certain would not reject our demands and presentations."[75] Thus, pro-Austrian loyalty directed toward the Habsburg emperor, for which Galicia's Rus'-Ukrainians had become proverbially known as the "Tyrolians of the East," was to remain a basic ingredient of Kachkovs'kyi Society political ideology.[76]

The other ingredient of Old Ruthenianism was cultural, although enemies of the Kachkovs'kyi Society would argue it was political in nature. This had to do with the idea of the unity of Rus'. Without going into details, the Old Ruthenian ideology of the Kachkovs'kyi Society believed that all the Rus' (*russkyi*) people—the Great Rus', White Rus', and Little Rus', or to use modern terminology, Russians, Belorussians, and Ukrainians—were equal descendants of the common heritage of medieval Kievan Rus'. Indeed, such a view coincided with the contemporary Russian understanding of Pan-Slavism and with the official policy of the tsarist government, providing the latter with ideological legitimacy for claims to Austro-Hungarian historic Rus' lands (eastern Galicia, northern Bukovina, and Subcarpathian Rus'). However, the Galician Old Ruthenians did not wish to be ruled by the tsarist Russian Empire. They considered their relationship to the so-called common Rus' East solely in cultural terms that were analogous to the situation of Austria's German speakers who were culturally and linguistically related to the Germanic world without being politically subordinate to the German Empire.[77]

74 From a speech at a meeting of the Sokal' affiliate, cited in "Zahal'noe sobranie chlenôv filiy OMK v Sokaly," *Russkaia rada* (Kolomyia), 9, no. 12–13 (1879): 92.

75 From a speech at the 1892 annual meeting, cited in "Sobranie chlenôv OMK," *Russkoe slovo* (Lviv), 3, no. 35 (1892): 3.

76 On the dominant monarchical tendencies in Galician Rus' society, see John-Paul Himka, "Hope in the Tsar: Displaced Naive Monarchism Among the Ukrainian Peasants of the Habsburg Empire," *Russian History* 7, no. 1–2 (1980): 125–38; and Paul R. Magocsi, "Vienna in 1848 Through the Eyes of Ukrainians," forthcoming.

77 The best introduction to Old Ruthenian ideology is found in O. A. Monchalovskii, *Sviataia Rus'* (Lviv, 1903).

As for the Old Ruthenians, the living symbol of their cultural unity with "Holy Rus'" (*Sviataia Rus'*) was language—not, however, the vernacular of the peasant masses (which they would admit was differentiated into at least three distinct languages or "dialects": Russian, Belorussian, and Ukrainian), but the traditional *russkyi* book language used since time immemorial in church books in Galicia and, of course, in the publications of the Kachkovs'kyi Society. Thus, as is typical of the early stages of many national movements, the medium or form of the language—in this case the etymological alphabet and high-sounding words drawn from Church Slavonic—became more important than the message, especially since the medium somehow conveyed a sense of unity with an eastern Rus' culture that had the prestige of several centuries of history. In the words of one Kachkovs'kyi Society member: "Our people have the greatest respect for the book language in which our church books and Holy Liturgy are written.... That language, which our patriotic forefathers wrote and still write since time immemorial, is called 'Muscovite' by the Ukrainophile populists. However, our people know nothing and do not wish to know anything about such things, because for our people there is only one Rus' language.... The realization of the unity of Rus' has always lived and still lives in the hearts of our people."[78] Indeed, prestige and dignity became in themselves prime commodities for an intelligentsia with an ingrained sense of inferiority, an intelligentsia that felt it had to stand up to the more "prestigious" Polish culture in the context of an Austrian provincial environment.

It was this sense of looking to the past, of depending upon it as a crutch for existing in the present, that was at the heart of the Kachkovs'kyi Society's national ideology, summed up so well in 1891 by its long-time chairman, Bohdan Didyts'kyi (1827–1908):

> We call ourselves Old Rus', and that name comes from the fact that we fervently stand by those beginnings which our ancestors gave to us, in particular our own saint and equal to the apostles, Prince Vladimir, with whom our ancestors accepted holy Christianity and with Christianity our Slavonic-Rus' rite and Rus' alphabet as well. We are proud that they call us Old Rus', because we stand by our olden beginnings and wish to remain in union with our church which has existed for a thousand years.[79]

[78] From a speech by Vasyl' Kurdydyk at a meeting of the Ternopil' affiliate of the Kachkovs'kyi Society, cited in *Russkoe slovo* (Lviv), 6, nos. 24 and 25 (1895): 3 and 2, respectively.

[79] From the speech of Chairman Didyts'kyi at the society's 1891 annual convention, cited in *Russkoe slovo* (Lviv), 2, no. 35 (1891): 2.

In a late nineteenth-century environment in which new ideas and movements (nationalism, socialism, Zionism, Marxism) found fertile ground in Galicia, Old Ruthenian spokesmen like Didyts'kyi, whose own culture was still not fully respected, came to have an almost pathological fear of change. This was summed up poignantly in a speech on the meaning of the society by Osyp A. Markov (1849–1909), a long-time member of its central committee: "The Kachkovs'kyi Society wants that Rus' will always remain Rus', that our people will not lose one inch of its land, nor one letter from its alphabet, nor one prayer from its church."[80]

A few of the rival Ukrainophile national leaders in Galicia, among them the president of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, Mykhailo S. Hrushevs'kyi (1866–1934), respected the Old Ruthenians' position and even called for greater cooperation with them.[81] However, this attitude was the exception: most Galician-Ukrainian leaders saw the Old Ruthenians and the Kachkovs'kyi Society as a Muscovite fifth column to be exorcised from their Galician midst.[82]

The final irony is that when at the outset of the twentieth century a few younger Galician politicians (Dmytro Markov, Volodymyr Dudykevych, Ivan Hrynevets'kyi) and newspapers (*Prikarpatskaia Rus'*, *Holos naroda*) began to take what could be considered a classic Russophile position that favored the incorporation of Galicia into the Russian Empire and the adoption of the standard literary Russian language for publications and education, the Kachkovs'kyi Society found it as difficult to deal with them as with the Ukrainian populists.[83] Therefore, it is not surprising that with the outbreak of World War I and the rapid advance of tsarist Russian forces into Galicia in August 1914, the Kachkovs'kyi Society, like the Prosvita Society and other Ukrainian organizations, ceased functioning. Indeed, the Kachkovs'kyi Society renewed its activity after the war in 1919, but in the completely changed political circumstances of Polish rule and with the ascendency of the Ukrainian national ideology it was merely marking time

[80] O. Markov, "Chomu OMK mae dlia nas znachenie?," *Russkoe slovo* (Lviv), 9, no. 44 (1898): 2.

[81] See above, fn. 11.

[82] A typical Ukrainophile view was that of Lon'gyn Tsehel's'kyi, who, while recognizing that the "old Muscophiles [Old Ruthenians] led de facto a Ukrainian cultural life and expressed de facto the Ukrainian national position with regard to the Poles" (p. 402), nonetheless argued that the whole movement was a pathological phenomenon in Galician Ukrainian Society. See his "Halyts'ke moskvofil'stvo v ostannii ioho fazi," *Literaturno-naukovyi vistnyk* (Lviv and Kiev), 50 (1910): 389–406.

[83] See the negative views toward the Russophiles by the chairman of the Kachkovs'kyi Society and prominent Old Ruthenian, Bohdan Didyts'kyi, "Svoezhyt'evi zapysky," pt. 2, *Vistnyk 'Narodnoho Doma'* (Lviv), 26, no. 3 (1908): 50–54.

until its final demise with the entry of Soviet troops and administration into Galicia in September 1939.[84]

CONCLUSION

The Kachkovs'kyi Society during its four decades of existence under Austrian rule did succeed in its basic goal: to serve as a publisher of popular books that raised the educational, moral, and civic culture of the Rus'-Ukrainian population in Galicia. It was also partially successful in the more practical tasks of publication and instruction in agricultural matters for the rural population.

As for its ideology of looking backward and promoting the idea of Rus' cultural unity, the Kachkovs'kyi Society was by the eve of World War I eclipsed by its rival Prosvita Society and the Ukrainian national movement. The reason for its failure was perhaps its inability to develop and promote elements of higher culture based on the local Galician environment. For instance, while Prosvita and other Ukrainian cultural societies were promoting critical and scholarly publications, theatrical life, and the works of writers like Ivan Franko, the Kachkovs'kyi Society sought its models of high culture in the works of Tolstoy, Pushkin, and other Russian writers that were culturally as well as linguistically removed from the local Galician Ukrainian environment.

The question of the degree to which higher forms of cultural endeavor can be divorced from the environment in which they are being promoted is one that had faced the Galician intelligentsia throughout the Ukrainian national revival in the six decades preceding the outbreak of World War I. In its effort to attain cultural prestige and self-confidence by associating with an undifferentiated, historic East Slavic East, it seems that the Kachkovs'kyi Society and the Old Ruthenian orientation it represented went too far, thereby eventually alienating itself from the very population it had hoped to serve.

University of Toronto

[84] If the literature of the Kachkovs'kyi Society in the pre-World War I years is limited, that on the interwar period is virtually non-existent.

Appendix 1
STATUTE OF THE MYKHAIL KACHKOVS'KYI SOCIETY*

СТАТУТЫ
ОБЩЕСТВА ИМЕНИ МИХАИЛА КАЧКОВСКОГО
въ КОЛОМЫѢ.

I. Назва и цѣль общества, его мѣстопребываніе и печать.

§. 1.

Общество имени „Михаила Качковского" вызначило собѣ задачу: розпространеніе наукъ, обычайности, трудолюбія, тверезости и ощадности, гражданского сознанія и всякихъ честнотъ межи русскимъ народомъ въ Австріи.

Головнымъ мѣсто-пребываніемъ того общества и его выдѣла есть городъ Коломыя.

Общество тое употребляе печатки съ надписію: Общество „Михаила Качковского" въ Коломыѣ.

II. Средства общества.

§. 2.

Для достиженія задачи общества служатъ слѣдующіи средства:

а) издаванье популярныхъ и поучительныхъ, а дешевыхъ книжокъ религійно-обычайного, наукового, господарского и забавного содержанія;

б) основаніе читалней;

в) публичніи ôтчиты;

г) основаніе обществъ тверезости;

д) основаніе громадскихъ позычковыхъ-касъ и сыпôвъ збôжа;

е) основаніе обществъ рукодѣльникôвъ.

§. 3.

Выдатки общества покрываются: вносами членôвъ, доброволь-

* *Nauka*, vol. 4 (Kolomyia, 1875), pp. 54–62.

ными датками и жертвами, завѣщаніями и легатами якъ и приходами взыскуемыми изъ розпродажи книжокъ обществомъ издаваныхъ.

§. 4.

Весь маетокъ общества выказуе инвентарь.

Маеткомъ орудуе ся такъ, щобы крôмъ покрытья текущихъ выдаткôвъ, основано фондъ коренный.

III. Составъ общества.

§. 5.

Общество состоитъ изъ членôвъ дѣйствительныхъ и почетныхъ.

§. 6.

Дѣйствительнымъ членомъ стаеся каждый австрійскій обыватель русской народности, который обявитъ свою волю, причинятись въ пользу общества грошевымъ даткомъ или другимъ якимъ способомъ на пр. трудомъ литературнымъ, и выдѣломъ общества буде принятый въ члены.

§. 7.

Почетными членами именуе общое собраніе общества лица, извѣстныи изъ чоловѣко- и народолюбія.

§. 8.

Особы допустившіи ся якого безчестного дѣла по карнымъ законамъ караемого, особенноже походящого изъ користолюбія, якъ и ôтдаючіися неморальности или налогови піянства, не могутъ бути членами общества, а еслибы ними будучи попали въ подôбный порокъ або противодѣйствовали цѣлямъ общества, рѣшеньемъ выдѣла изъ общества выключаются.

На случай отказанья принятія въ члены общества или выключенья изъ того, служитъ оскорбленому право ôтклика до общого собранія общества, которое жалобу рѣшае окончательно.

§. 9.

Также перестае бути членомъ каждый, кто съ уплатою датковою за два лѣта зôстае въ залеглости и зôставши до уплаты выдѣломъ упôмненый, въ теченіи 14 дней всеи залеглости не сложитъ.

IV. Обязанности членôвъ.

§. 10.

Каждый членъ дѣйствителный общества принимае слѣдующіи обязанности:

1. кождого года платити 1 зр. до касы общества;
2. старатися о позысканье новыхъ членôвъ для общества;
3. словомъ и дѣломъ заохочовати кождого до школьнои и всякои доброи и полезнои науки, якъ и подавати помôчь убогôй школнôй молодежи.
4. неупотребляти нечемныхъ и поганыхъ слôвъ и проклонôвъ, и мерзкій звычай тотъ, где случится, искореняти.
5. словомъ и примѣромъ своимъ другихъ ôтъ піянства ôтводити и причинятися до основанія обществъ воздержности (тверезости);
6. бути для всѣхъ добрымъ примѣромъ трудолюбія, порядка, чистоты, господарности и ощадности;
7. возбуджати и крѣпити въ народѣ почитаніе права и послушаніе законамъ;
8. старатись всѣми силами объ основаніи громадскихъ читалней, позысковати для нихъ якъ найбôльше членôвъ, и по возможности держати въ нихъ или слухати ôтчитôвъ о всякихъ полезныхъ рѣчахъ.
9. заложити у себе, если есть властителемъ грунту, школу садовины и роздавати или дешево продавати другимъ ублагородненую садовину — также старатись о обсадженье садовиною или хоть дикою деревиною дорôгъ и пустыхъ мѣстцъ.
10. старатися о заведеніе лучшои расы худобы, лучшихъ уліевъ и розпространяти науку о раціональнôмъ веденію господарства, якъ о пôднесенье промысла — а тымъ самымъ, пособствовати добробытови народа.

V. Права членôвъ.

§. 11.

Кождый членъ дѣйствительный общества мае право:

1. при общихъ собраніяхъ забирати голосъ, ставляти внесенія, захвалювати къ именованію почетныхъ членôвъ, голосовати при выборахъ председателя общого собранія якъ и поодинокихъ секцій того собранія, дальше при выборѣ председателя и чле-

нôвъ выдѣла, наконецъ при ухвалахъ общого Собранія и вглядати въ всѣ акта общому собранію предложеніи.

2. бути избраннымъ въ члены Председательства и выдѣла.

3. являтися на засѣданія выдѣла съ голосомъ совѣтующимъ, если не есть членомъ выдѣла — або подавати до выдѣла внесенія на письмѣ.

4. изъ всѣхъ книжокъ, обществомъ изданныхъ получати даромъ по одному ексемпляру.

§. 12.

Кождый членъ получае ôтъ выдѣла грамоту принятія въ члены, котора его яко члена легитимує и управняе его до вступу на общое собраніе, на засѣданія выдѣла, якъ и на ôтчиты въ читальняхъ.

§. 13.

Членъ почетный мае право до вступу на общіи собранія и засѣданія выдѣла, но не мае права забирати тутъ голосъ. Ему служитъ право посѣщати читальни и держати тутъ ôтчиты.

§. 14.

Списъ всѣхъ членôвъ удержуе выдѣлъ въ точнôй зримости и оголошуе всякіи въ томже послѣдовавшіи змѣны въ способôъ въ §. 30. означеный.

§. 15.

Всѣми дѣлами общества управляютъ: общое собраніе и выдѣлъ.

А. Общое собраніе.

§. 16.

Общое собраніе ôтбувае ся по правилу разъ въ годъ и то о скôлько возможно, въ день 8 (20) августа, яко въ день смерти б. п. Михаила Качковского, а по обстоятельствамъ кождого року въ инномъ мѣстци.

Коли 50 членôвъ того зажадаютъ или обстоятельства того требовати будутъ, долженъ выдѣлъ скликати надпорядочное общое собраніе.

§. 17.

Скликанье общого собранія должно дѣятись посредствомъ русскихъ краевыхъ часописей или особными листами и то четыри (4)

недѣли напередъ, въ наглыхъ же случаяхъ можна той речинецъ скоротити до 14 дней.

§. 18.

Общое собраніе провозглашае председатель выдѣла що есть ôтворене, скоро явилось на тое 50 членôвъ дѣйствительныхъ.

Ôнъ розпочинае дѣйствіе общого собранія короткою промовою и взывае, щобы собравшіися члены избрали председателя общого собранія, заступника председателя и двохъ секретарôвъ.

§. 19.

Выдѣлъ здае справу зъ веденія дѣлъ общества и предкладае счеты и внесенія.

Къ розсмотренію дѣлъ избирае собраніе потребне число комисій.

§. 20.

Общое собраніе ухваляе змѣну статутôвъ общества, рѣшае внесенія, ôтклики и жалобы, именуе почетныхъ членôвъ, избирае председателя выдѣла, тогоже членôвъ и ихъ заступникôвъ, заряжуе шконтра кассъ, склада книгъ и иныхъ засобôвъ, удѣляе или ôтказуе абсолюторія выдѣлови, определяе почетъ службы при выдѣлѣ якъ и платню или нагороду для поодинокихъ управненыхъ лиць и вообще розпоряжуе, якъ имѣніемъ общества орудоватися мае.

§. 21.

Общое собраніе ухвалюе важно абсолютнымъ бôльшеньствомъ голосôвъ присутствующихъ членôвъ дѣйствительныхъ.

Председатель голосуе тôлько при именованіи членôвъ почетныхъ и при выборѣ выдѣла, въ прочемъ рѣшае при рôвности голосôвъ.

§. 22.

Якимъ способомъ голосоватися мае, т. е. чи поименно, картками, галками, черезъ акламацію, пôднесеніе рукъ, повстанье или черезъ сидженье, заряжае председатель.

Б. Выдѣлъ.

§. 23.

Выдѣлъ общества состоитъ изъ председателя, осьми (8) членôвъ и ихъ четырехъ (4) заступникôвъ, всѣхъ общимъ собраніемъ избранныхъ.

Выдѣлъ же самъ избираетъ изъ посередь себе мѣстопредсѣдателя и одного секретаря.

§. 24.

Мѣстопредсѣдатель заступае предсѣдателя ôтсутствуючого а заступникъ члена покликуєся, если который членъ есть перешкодженъ участвовати въ дѣлахъ выдѣла.

§. 25.

Выдѣлъ избираєся на оденъ годъ, ôнъ долженъ однакожь урядовати поти, поки новоизбранный выдѣлъ не ôтбере веденія дѣлъ общества.

Члены выдѣла могутъ быти поновно избранными.

§. 26.

Кромѣ всѣхъ администраційныхъ дѣлъ общества належатъ до выдѣла: принятіе и выключеніе членôвъ (§§. 6, 8.), оцѣнка рукописей до печатанья призначеныхъ, заключаніе уговора съ сочинителями взглядомъ вынагородъ, занятіеся печатаньемъ и розсылкою книгъ общества, веденіе касы общества, дальше оголошенія въ §§. 14, 17, 30, 34, 35, 36, наведеныи, потôмъ надсмотръ читальней, также позамѣстцевыхъ, якъ и уряджѣнье публичныхъ ôтчитôвъ въ тыхже, также надсмотръ надъ обществами тверезости, громадскими позычковыми касами и сыпами збôжа якъ и надъ обществами рукодѣльникôвъ, наконецъ удѣлянье инструкцій всѣмъ отраслямъ общества.

§. 27.

Выдѣлъ ухвалюе важно, скоро кромѣ предсѣдателя (мѣстопредсѣдателя) собралося шесть (6) членôвъ или по крайной мѣрѣ три члены и три заступники членôвъ.

Секретарь всегда вчисляеся въ тое число.

Ухвалы выдѣла западаютъ абсолютною бôльшостію голосôвъ.

Предсѣдатель голосує завсѣгды.

Голосованье ôтбуваеся явно или тайно (§. 22.) пôдля выбору и заряженія предсѣдателя.

§. 28.

Секретарь списує всѣ ухвалы въ книгу выдѣла.

Кождый протоколъ якъ и всѣ письма и грамоты ôтъ выдѣла выходящіи, пôдписуютъ предсѣдатели (мѣстопредсѣдатель) и секретарь.

Грамоты правні должні кромъ того содержати ссылку на ухвалу выдѣла и бути снабжены вытисненіемъ печати общества.

§. 29.

Общество представляе на внѣ и заступае тоже передъ властями и судами председатель выдѣла — а въ его отсутсвію или перешкодѣ мѣстопредсѣдатель.

§. 30.

Состояніе касы съ всѣми сюда относящимися грамотами и квитами предкладае Выдѣлъ ежегодно общому собранію къ пересмотрови и одобренію и оголошуе сумаричный выказъ кассы въ русскихъ часописяхъ якъ и въ первой книжочцѣ изданой Обществомъ по ôтбытію каждократного общого собранія.

VII Читальнѣ.

§. 31.

Въ каждой мѣстцевости, въ котрой вписалося по крайной мѣрѣ 12 членовъ до общества, служитъ имъ право основати у себе читальню.

Въ той цѣли могутъ они возвати выдѣлъ общества къ содѣйствованю, которому также служитъ надзôръ основанои читальнѣ.

§. 32.

Кожда такая читальня получае даромъ по одному екземпляру всѣхъ сочиненій обществомъ изданныхъ и на складѣ находящихся.

§. 33.

Члены общества маютъ свобôдный вступъ до читальнѣ.

Зарядъ читальнѣ ухвалитъ, чи лица до Общества неналежащіи могутъ посѣщати читальню и пôдъ якими условіями.

§. 34.

Выдѣлъ общества якъ и зарядъ читальнѣ могутъ уряжати публичныи ôтчиты въ читальняхъ — и такъ одинъ якъ другій о состояніи тѣхже подавати извѣстія до публичнои вѣдомости.

VIII. Общества тверезости.

§. 35.

Такъ выдѣлови общества якъ и поодинокимъ членамъ служитъ

право поспѣшествовати основанію обществъ тверезости или воздержности.

Выдѣлъ провадитъ верховный надзоръ надъ ними и похвалы достойнй событія подає до общой вѣдомости.

IX. Громадскіи пожичковыи касы и ссыпы збôжа.

§. 36.

За содѣйствіємъ выдѣла общества или членôвъ основаныи пожичковыи касы или ссыпы збôжа въ поодинокихъ громадахъ удержуе выдѣлъ въ зримости и стараєся о періодичнôмъ обвѣщанію тыхже состоянія.

X. Общества рукодѣльниковъ.

§. 37.

Выдѣлъ якъ и поодинокіи члены общества должнй улегчати сочленамъ-рукодѣльникамъ основаніе обществъ, маючихъ на цѣли спроваджуванье въ мѣсцевости, залишеныи въ промышленности, майстрôвъ и знатокôвъ — старатися о точное выученье ремеслъ черезъ поодинокихъ рукодѣльникôвъ якъ и о закупно потребныхъ матеріалôвъ гуртомъ.

XI. Розвязанье общества.

§. 38.

Тôлько общому собранію, къ той цѣли выразно скликаному, служитъ право ухвалити розвязанье общества.

Такую ухвалу якъ и опредѣленье, на якую общеполезную цѣль маєся обернути все чистое имѣніе общества, становитъ общое собраніе важно, если по крайной мѣрѣ бôльшая половина дѣйствительныхъ членôвъ собранія и то три чвертины ($^3/_4$) голосôвъ присутствуючихъ членôвъ дотычную ухвалу повзяла.

Еслибы же до такои ухвалы не прійшло, припадае все чистое имѣніе въ пользу русско-народного Института „Народный Дôмъ" въ Львовѣ.

XII. Споры.

§. 39.

Всякого рода споры, изъ отношеній общества происходящіи

рѣшае окôнчательно и безъ всякого ôткляка мировый судъ, въ составъ которого избирае кождая сторона по одному судіи, а тіи оба судіи избираютъ сверхника свого.

XIII. Переходныи опредѣленія.

§. 40.

Поки выдѣлъ общества не зôстане по мысли §. 20. избранъ, комитетъ учредительный веде дѣла Выдѣлови препорученыи.

По затверженіи статутôвъ скличе комитетъ учредительный безпроволочно первое общое собраніе.

Appendix 2
KACHKOVS'KYI SOCIETY AFFILIATES, 1913*

(Names followed by parentheses refer to districts; all others are district centers)

1. Brody
2. Buchach
3. Chortkiv
4. Drobomil'
5. Drohobych
6. Halych (Stanyslaviv)
7. Hrimno (Rudky)
8. Kalush
9. Kaminka Strumylova
10. Kolomyia
11. Krynica (Nowy Sącz)
12. Lisko
13. Lviv
14. Peremyshliany
15. Peremyshl'
16. Rava Rus'ka
17. Rohatyn
18. Sambir
19. Sanok
20. Skalat
21. Sokal'
22. Stanyslaviv
23. Staryi Sambir (Sambir)
24. Stryi
25. Ternopil'
26. Turka
27. Ustryky Dolishni (Lisko)
28. Vysits'ko (Jarosław)
29. Zboriv
30. Zhovkva
31. Zolochiv

Other affiliates no longer existing in 1913

1. Berezhany
2. Hlyniany (Peremyshliany)
3. Iavoriv
4. Rudky
5. Sniatyn
6. Zhydachiv

Appendix 3
KACHKOVS'KYI SOCIETY CHAIRMEN AND SECRETARIES

Chairmen

1874–1877	Reverend Ivan Naumovych
1877–1880	Vyktor M. Ploshchans'kyi
1880–1884	Reverend Feofil Pavlykov
1884–1903	Bohdan Didyts'kyi
1903–1914	Pylyp Svystun

Secretaries

1874–1878	Ivan E. Levyts'kyi
1876–1880	Fedir Olipnyk
1878	Dmytro Vints'kovs'kyi
1879	F. Pleshkovych
1880–1882	Osyp A. Markov
1882–1884	Orest A. Avdykovs'kyi
1884–1886	Osyp A. Monchalovs'kyi
1886–1910	Ivan N. Pelekh
1910–1912	Semen Bendasiuk
1912–1914	Myron S. Zaiats'

* *Russkaia nyva* (Lviv, 1913), p. 71

Appendix 4
KACHKOVS'KYI SOCIETY ANNUAL CONVENTIONS

1.	Kolomyia		20 August 1874
2.	Halych		24 August 1875
3.	Lviv (extraordinary)		20 January 1876
4.	Stryi		22 August 1876
5.	Lviv		20 September 1877
6.	Peremyshl'		20 August 1878
7.	Stanyslaviv		11 September 1879
8.	Kolomyia		9 September 1880
9.	Zolochiv		29 September 1881
10.	Lviv		31 August 1882
11.	Drohobych		18 September 1883
12.	Ternopil'		29 September 1884
13.	Sanok		8 September 1885
14.	Brody		9 September 1886
15.	Kolomyia		8 September 1887
16.	Drohobych		6 September 1888
17.	Kalush		17 September 1889
18.	Ternopil'		9 September 1890
19.	Lviv		8 September 1891
20.	Stryi		8 September 1892
[21.	Stanyslaviv	cancelled due to cholera epidemic	12 September 1893]
21.	Lviv		18 September 1894
22.	Stanyslaviv		8 September 1896
23.	Drohobych		7 September 1897
24.	Sambir		8 September 1898
25.	Lviv		6 September 1899
26.	Sanok		18 September 1900
27.	Brody		12 September 1901
28.	Sambir		16 September 1902
29.	Peremyshl'		29 September 1903
30.	Lviv		8 September 1904
31.	Kolomyia		7 September 1905
32.	Lviv		18 September 1906
33.	Ternopil'		12 September 1907
34.	Jarosław		19 September 1908
35.	Lviv		29 September 1909
36.	Lviv		29 September 1910
37.	Lviv		29 September 1911
38.	Lviv		24 September 1912
[39.	Lviv	cancelled due to cholera epidemic	29 September 1913]

Appendix 5
KACHKOVS'KYI SOCIETY MEMBERSHIP

Members	*Source and date*
1,439	*Russkaia rada* (Kolomyia), 5, no. 7 (1875): 50
2,600	*Slovo*, 14 August 1875, p. 1
3,000	*Russkaia rada* (Kolomyia), 5, no. 18 (1875): 141
3,700	*Russkaia rada* (Kolomyia), 5, no. 24 (1875): 190
3,562	*Russkaia rada* (Kolomyia), 6, no. 1 (1876): 11
6,000	*Russkaia rada* (Kolomyia), 7, no. 11 (1877): 94
over 5,000	*Slovo*, 3 June 1880, p. 1
4,100	*Slovo*, 24 September 1881, p. 1
3,500	*Slovo*, 6 October 1884, p. 1
3,637	*Slovo*, 23 November 1885, p. 2
5,000	*Russkaia rada* (Kolomyia), 18, no. 15 (1888): 120
4,136	*Russkaia rada* (Kolomyia), 20, no. 17 (1890): 110; *Russkoe slovo* (Lviv), 1, no. 37 (1890): 6
4,457	*Russkoe slovo* (Lviv), 2, no. 34 (1891): 4
5,476	*Russkoe slovo* (Lviv), 3, no. 33 (1892): 5
5,357	*Russkoe slovo* (Lviv), 5, no. 35 (1894): 7
5,173	*Russkoe slovo* (Lviv), 7, no. 35 (1896): 7
5,875	*Halychanyn*, 8 September 1897, p. 1
7,157	*Russkoe slovo* (Lviv), 11, no. 37 (1900): 1; *Halychanyn*, 19 September 1900, p. 2
7,444	*Halychanyn*, 13 September 1901, p. 2
8,130	*Russkoe slovo* (Lviv), 13 no. 36 (1902): 2
8,343	*Halychanyn*, 30 September 1903, p. 2
7,972	*Halychanyn*, 10 September 1904, p. 2
8,000	*Russkaia rada* (Kolomyia), 34, no. 16 (1905): 103
9,229/7,888	*Russkoe slovo* (Lviv), 17, no. 37 (1906): 5; *Halychanyn*, 19 September 1906, p. 2
9,872	*Dilo*, 24 September 1908, p. 1
10,011	*Halychanyn*, 1 October 1909, p. 2
10,700	*Halychanyn*, 2 October 1910, p. 2
10,395	*Halychanyn*, 21 September 1912, p. 2

DOCUMENTS

Sister Maria Krysta Szembek and her Memoirs

ANDRZEJ A. ZIĘBA

The memoirs by Sister Maria Krysta of the Most Holy Sacrament from the Convent of the Daughters of the Immaculate Conception of the Most Holy Virgin Mary are among the most interesting of the family memoirs about Metropolitan Andrej Šeptyc'kyj. Born Zofia Szembek on 10 November 1884, the author of these memoirs was closely related to the metropolitan through her mother, Maria Szembekowa, née Fredro, niece of the metropolitan's mother, Zofia Szeptycka, née Fredro.[1] The family bonds became even closer later (as will be discussed below), but the spiritual relationship between the metropolitan and his god-daughter, Zofia, was more important than these blood ties. Both devoted themselves to monastic life; both were marked by a deep spirituality and religiosity.

Before turning to the memoirs of Sister Maria Krysta Szembek, it would be appropriate to start with a brief outline of her own biography.[2] She was the second child of a noble family from Great Poland. The Szembeks (Schönbegks) originated in Germany, were nobilitated in Poland in the sixteenth century, and held the Prussian title of count since 1816. They were a rich and well-connected family which owned lands that, after the fall of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the late eighteenth century, came under Prussian rule. The services of Szembeks to the Catholic Church and to the Commonwealth were a particularly highly regarded part of the family history. Of the nine bishops from that family, two were primates of Poland and, already during Sister Maria Krysta's lifetime, one of the Szembeks,

[1] Concerning Šeptyc'kyj, see the most recent and comprehensive volume of studies, *Morality and Reality: The Life and Times of Andrei Sheptyts'kyi*, edited by Paul Robert Magocsi with the assistance of Andrii Krawchuk (Edmonton, 1989).

[2] Concerning Zofia Szembek, see Stanisław Błaszczyk, "Szembekówna, Zofia," *Wielkopolski słownik biograficzny* (Warsaw and Poznań, 1981), pp. 737–38; Jerzy Pietrzak, "Fredrowska krew w Wielkopolsce IV," *Kierunki* (Poznań), 18, no. 28 (1974): 12; Stanisław Błaszczyk, "Jadwiga Szeptycka i Zofia Szembekówna," *Literatura Ludowa* (Warsaw), 9, no. 2/3 (1965): 23–24; idem, "Zofia Szembekówna 1885–1974," *Lud* (Wrocław), 60 (1976): 370–72; "Zmarli," *Tygodnik Powszechny* (Cracow), 28, no. 40 (1974): 7.

Jerzy (1851–1905), was metropolitan of Mahilioŭ, i.e., head of the Roman Catholic Church in the Russian Empire—and, incidentally, a close friend of Metropolitan Šeptyc'kyj.[3]

Siemianice, the estate in Great Poland belonging to the memoirist's parents, was a center of Polish patriotic life. Its owner, Piotr Szembek (1844–1896), had participated in the anti-Russian uprising in the Congress Kingdom while still young (1863), was then a deputy to the German parliament, and died prematurely in 1896. His widow, Maria (1862–1937), from the Galician family of the Fredros and granddaughter of the prominent Polish comedy writer Aleksander Fredro, exerted a decisive influence on the atmosphere at home and on the personalities of her children. An ardent Polish patriot, she wrote patriotic poetry and participated in a number of measures in defense of Polish interests in Prussia. These included her involvement in a school strike, in a protest campaign against the expropriation law, and in the armed uprising of 1919. She also devoted a great deal of energy to the Polish question in Silesia.[4] On this particular issue she was supported by her cousin, Roman (later Andrej by his monastic name) Šeptyc'kyj. During his student years in Breslau/Wrocław, he worked amidst Polish Catholic youth and sought the support of Polish landed aristocracy in Russian Ukraine for Polish activities in Silesia; later, as a monk, he traveled across Upper Silesia to preach in Polish; and, finally, as metropolitan he supported the Vatican nomination of a Pole to the metropolitan see of Gniezno.[5]

Three Szembek children grew up in these Polish, deeply national surroundings: Aleksander, Zofia, and Jadwiga. They too became involved very quickly in patriotic activities. Aleksander (1886–1928) participated in the 1919 uprising in Great Poland, was later a member of the international commission that delimited the Polish-German border, and, finally, became a professional diplomat, employee of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Warsaw and adviser to the Polish Embassy in Paris. Dismissed after the coup

[3] Teodor Żychliński, *Złota księga szlachty polskiej* (Poznań, 1906), vol. 28, pp. 131, 148–49.

[4] For more details about the parents of Zofia Szembek, see Jerzy Dunin-Borkowski, *Almanach błękitny. Genealogie żyjących rodów polskich* (Lviv, 1908), pp. 903–13; Maria Szembekowa, *Niegdyś. Wspomnienia moje* (Lviv, 1927); Henryk Łubieński, "Umarła córka Fredry," *Kurier Poznański*, 12 February 1937, p. 8; Żychliński, *Złota księga*, 28:93; Jerzy Pietrzak, "Szembekowa, Maria," *Wielkopolski słownik biograficzny*, p. 737; idem, "Fredrowska krew w Wielkopolsce I-II," *Kierunki* 18, no. 25 (1974): 12; no. 26 (1974): 12; *Zbiór poetów polskich XIX w.*, ed. Paweł Hertz, vol. 4 (Warsaw, 1965), p. 352, vol. 6 (Warsaw, 1975), p. 270.

[5] Biblioteka Narodowa w Warszawie (hereafter, BN), MS. 7896, Piotr Mańkowski, "Pamiętniki," vol. 1, p. 98; *Księga Sapieżyńska: Praca zbiorowa*, ed. Jerzy Wolny (Cracow, 1982), vol. 1, pp. 95, 146.

d'état of May 1926, he died in 1928 in Paris.[6]

Initially, both sisters together continued their mother's educational and patriotic activities among the Polish peasants in Great Poland and in Silesia. They undertook joint projects in ethnographic research in those territories, and their first achievements in ethnography and history were recognized by specialists. On 15 February 1902, however, Jadwiga (1883–1939) left Siemianice to marry Leon Szeptycki, the youngest brother of the metropolitan. She settled with him on the Szeptycki family estate in Prylbyči.[7] Their marriage strengthened the contacts between the Szembeks and the Szeptyckis; both families exchanged frequent visits between their homes in Galicia and Great Poland.

Remaining with her mother, Zofia continued her scholarly and civic activities. As a twenty-year-old, she discussed the results of her archaeological research at a session of the Society of Friends of Arts and Sciences in Poznań—an extraordinary event for that time. On 31 May 1909, Zofia Szembek joined a convent, choosing that of the Daughters of the Immaculate Conception of the Most Holy Virgin Mary, which had been established in 1857 in Rome. The founders of the convent—of whom one, Mother Marcelina Darowska, was still alive when Zofia Szembek made her decision—adopted as the goal of their community the religious and moral rebirth of the Poles. The sisters of the order were particularly successful in Austrian Galicia. There, they had a number of centers, of which Jazlivec' was of particular renown: it hosted an educational institution for Polish and Ukrainian girls and was known for its cult of an icon of the Virgin Mary. Because of the profile of the convent—the educational and school work it conducted—its candidates often came from socially elite, even aristocratic, families. Cousins and in-laws from the families of the Mycielskis, Dembińskis, and Morstins were already at the convent before Zofia Szembek joined.[8]

After her novitiate Zofia Szembek accepted the habit and with it the new name of Sister Maria Krysta of the Most Holy Sacrament. Her decision to join the convent was cause for frequent contacts with the metropolitan. While making her decision and later, during its implementation, she corresponded with him, seeking his advice on spiritual problems. The metropolitan personally attended her monastic initiation in Jazlivec' on

6 Pietrzak, "Fredrowska krew w Wielkopolsce V," *Kierunki* 18, no. 30 (1974): 12.

7 Żychliński, *Złota księga*, 26 (1904): 117–18.

8 See Maria Alma Sołtan, *Matka: Życie i działalność Matki Marceliny Darowskiej, 1827–1911* (Szymanów, 1982); Marjan Piróżyński CSSR, *Zakony żeńskie w Polsce* (Lublin, 1935), pp. 149–53.

7 December 1909, and made a great impression on Mother Marcelina Darowska, the prioress of the convent, and the nuns. One of the alumnae of the Jazlivec' institution, Amelia Paygert-Łączyńska, reminisced many years later: "He delivered a sermon in the purest Polish language; a magnificent stature and a noble face adorned with a long, beautiful beard made an imposing impression and we, the children, were told that he was almost a holy man."[9]

In her later years Sister Krysta Szembek stayed in other centers of the convent, including Słonim and Nowy Sącz. She worked as a teacher, and did not abandon her interests in history, writing and publishing contributions on the history of Poland and studying the history of her convent. After the Second World War, because of Poland's changed borders, the sisters of Immaculate Conception lost their homes in the so-called Eastern Borderlands. Sister Szembek then left for the formerly German northwestern territories to organize new centers there. She worked, among other places, at Szczecinek in Pomerania. Toward the end of her life she settled in Szymanów, near Warsaw, in the general house of her monastic order. During that period she wrote many works of a memoiristic nature devoted to her family,[10] including the memoirs concerning the metropolitan. She died at Szymanów on 18 July 1974.

Sister Szembek's memoirs are a rich source for learning of Metropolitan Andrej Šeptyc'kyj's personality, spiritual life, and views on ecclesiastical and political problems. We find a relatively large amount of material on the first two subjects. The letters of the metropolitan to Sister Szembek are invaluable here. They present a side of him as a spiritual advisor, catechist, monk, and priest that is still little known. They say a great deal about his personal liturgical customs and spiritual practices.

One of the most interesting things on which the memoirs shed new light is the question of how the young monk who joined the order, choosing to serve the Church in a manner removed from temporal life, became a hierarch deeply involved in that very life.[11] The metropolitan was conscious

[9] Biblioteka Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Kórniku, MS. 11265, Amelia Łączyńska, née Paygert, "Wspomnienia," vol. 3, pt. 5, p. 2.

[10] Biblioteka Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich we Wrocławiu, MS. 14473, II, Zofia Szembek, "Z dziejów Siemianic," vols. 1–3; BN, MS. 13340, II, pp. 185–96, Szembek, "List-komentarz do 'Z opowiadań i wspomnień' Felicji Skarbkowej"; Archives of Anna Szeptycka in Poznań, Zofia Szembek, "Wspomnienie o dzieciństwie i młodości mojej siostry Jadwigi z Szembeków Szeptyckiej."

[11] Reflecting on this problem, one of the metropolitan's close friends from his school years, Piotr Mańkowski (1866–1933), Latin rite bishop of Kam''janec' in Podolia (1918–1926) and then titular archbishop of Aenea residing in Bučač in Eastern Galicia, wrote about Šeptyc'kyj:

of that change because, in one of his letters to Szembek, he complained that he had been thrown from the stable monastic life into the stormy "sea of the world and into work for which one needs to be a saint." As is apparent from another letter, he believed, however, that there was no essential difference between remaining in a contemplative order and working actively in the outside world. "Prayer is a living act and there should not be an act without prayer," he wrote. Sister Szembek's observations and opinions make it possible to reexamine many of the exaggerated or simplistic judgments made concerning the nature of Šeptyc'kyj's religiosity. Some of his biographers—for example, Edward Prus or Hansjakob Stehle—thought that the metropolitan's civic activities had met with failure so many times because he lacked contact with reality, stayed in a mystical, unreal world of his own projects and dreams.[12] Certainly, the metropolitan's deep mysticism cannot be denied. Sister Krysta Szembek recorded a very suggestive scene during a sermon given by the metropolitan in the convent of Jazlivec' when he exclaimed "in a very emotional voice from the bottom of his heart" the words: "God is everything, everything, everything to us!" He so moved the assembled nuns that they later concluded there was no greater "inner soul" among the dignitaries of the Catholic Church. But Sister Szembek also wrote of another statement made by the metropolitan that did not fit a fiery and passionate dreamer: "One should not count on extraordinary divine light where reason is sufficient to solve a matter." Sister Krysta's Šeptyc'kyj emerges as a deeply religious man but also as a realist, seeking in prayer not so much direct answers to current, everyday problems as spiritual support and preparation for independent decision-making, a spiritual basis for his active work. He also emerges as a man deeply aware of his responsibility as holder of an episcopal office. Much about his inner experience is revealed in the words from one of his letters: "It is terrible to be responsible for souls redeemed by the blood of Christ."

"He loved the Church and wanted to serve it but he wished to fulfill this task by staying away from the public because the monastic calling was very strong in him. Ascetic life, inner prayer—this was the element in which he felt at home." Šeptyc'kyj's close aide, the Reverend Piotr Rzewuski, echoed this when he said of the metropolitan: "He was a born monk." Archbishop Mańkowski also stated: "Father Andrej entered the wide sphere out of necessity, and this became, against his will, perhaps the mishap of his life. Through scholarly work in his monastic cell or on missions, he might have rendered tremendous service to the Church" (see Mańkowski, "Pamiętniki," 3: 183; collection of Andrzej A. Zięba, P. Kreuza, "Modlitwa Kyr Andreja," p. 1.)

[12] Edward Prus, *Władyka świętojurski. Rzecz o metropolicie Andrzeju Szeptyckim, 1864–1944* (Warsaw, 1984), p. 306; Hansjakob Stehle, "Święty awanturnik," *Przegląd Prasy Zagranicznej* (Warsaw), 5 (1985): 28–32.

Szembek also recorded in her memoirs several interesting details about the civic activities of the metropolitan. The value of her report lies in the fact that the metropolitan's reflections and words which she notes are unofficial statements made in unofficial situations. Thus, Sister Szembek describes the background history to the pastoral epistle to Polish Greek Catholics and the never-issued epistle to Muscovitophiles; the metropolitan's opposition to changes in the liturgical calendar; his support for the introduction of celibacy; his problems with the phenomenon of the so-called collation. She also gives interesting details connected with Šeptyc'kyj's trip to Russia, before the First World War, that included his visit to Aleksander Jelski in Belorussia. Of further interest is her presentation of the metropolitan's position concerning the problem of liturgical reforms. Without denying that he was a supporter of the so-called Byzantinism, Szembek adds to our knowledge and understanding of this subject with the minor detail that the metropolitan did not oppose the introduction of various extraliturgical forms of piety borrowed from the Western Church, as, for example, a rosary service or service of prayers to the Most Holy Heart of Jesus.

In the realm of ecclesiastical matters, we also learn of the metropolitan's cooperation with neo-Uniate Jesuits from Albertyn in Belorussia. The fact that they consulted the metropolitan about their mission and received his support for it, as described by Sister Szembek, is significant. Even short statements made by the metropolitan, repeated by the memoirist using his own vocabulary and tone, are of importance to a researcher; examples are his sarcastic judgment of the activity of the Latin rite metropolitan of Lviv, Józef Bilczewski, and his views on Protestant and "schismatic" propaganda among Greek Catholics in America and Galicia.

Valuable contributions to the political biography of the metropolitan include the reports that the metropolitan was convinced, as late as 1912, of the absence of any danger of war with Russia and that he did not reckon with the possibility of a Russian occupation of Galicia; and that, in 1918, for a change, he opted for a Polish-Ukrainian agreement and solicited a joint conference of Polish and Ukrainian bishops. Szembek's correspondence with the metropolitan during the 1930s confirms other accounts that Šeptyc'kyj was by then convinced of the inevitability of historic catastrophe in Eastern Europe; this must have influenced his stance on political issues.[13]

[13] Incidentally, there is an interesting coincidence of views concerning this conviction between the metropolitan and his friend from the time of his stay in Zakopane at the end of the nineteenth century, Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz, an outstanding Polish painter and writer known as Witkacy. In spite of their shared apocalyptic premonitions, the two friends faced the foreseen future differently. "Hard, hard times await us; to prepare for them is the task of a life-

During the Second World War the metropolitan issued a pass of safe conduct for the sisters of the Convent of the Immaculate Conception at Nyžniv, fearful of a possible Ukrainian assault; the contents of the pass are particularly interesting and say something about the metropolitan's understanding of the Polish-Ukrainian conflict. Finally, the references to the metropolitan's health and habits and the details of his everyday life spread throughout the text are useful.

The question of the metropolitan's relationship with his Polish family occupies an important place in the memoirs; it is linked to the broader problem of Polish-Ukrainian relations and to the dynamic between the metropolitan and Polish culture, which is very important in Šeptyc'kyj's biography and about which little is known.

As Sister Krysta notes, the metropolitan was deeply attached to the literature and history of Poland. Moved, however, by a sense of loyalty to the culture of the nation from which his family originated and where he himself lived and worked, he became a Ukrainian. Explaining his choice, he cited the model of St. Paul. Nevertheless, he maintained a strong attachment to Poland. Szembek records that during his illness he asked to have Henryk Sienkiewicz's *Trilogy* read to him—a significant detail when it is recalled that the *Trilogy* includes the novel *With Fire and Sword*, which was met with such unequivocal negativity by Ukrainian critics of that time.

Szembek, a fervent Polish patriot, who reacted vividly to worsening Polish-Ukrainian relations in Eastern Galicia, often tried to alert the metropolitan by reporting to him the various opinions on this subject. The metropolitan's answers were usually noncommittal. As we know from other sources, many Polish men and women considered it their duty to draw his attention to any "impropriety" in the behavior of his flock. The metropolitan was no doubt often weary of constantly explaining the reasons for his position. A few statements recorded by Sister Krysta demonstrate the difficulties facing him. His efforts to "steer the Ruthenians towards the Poles," as he put it in his conversation with her, were frustrated by "a lack of mutual understanding, a lack of people with a broader, impartial view." Sister Krysta remembers here, for example, the withdrawal of the son of a Polish aristocratic family from a Ukrainian pilgrimage to the Holy Land because of Polish public opinion ("a Pole in a Ruthenian pilgrimage"), and she states that Poles in Eastern Galicia did not permit Polish-Ukrainian

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time," wrote the metropolitan in 1937. Two years later Witkacy reacted to the entrance of the Red Army into Poland, which he interpreted as the beginning of the demise of European civilization, by commiting suicide.

rapprochement. The metropolitan, according to her, deplored this fact. Sometimes it came, as she says, to discussions with intransigent Polish circles ("a sharp exchange of views" at the Sapiehas' in Bil'če Zolote), but most often the metropolitan was only exposed to indiscriminate attacks by the Polish press. Feeling themselves to be Polish but also understanding the metropolitan's position and, therefore, the Ukrainian side of the situation, family members found those attacks especially unjust. After a spate of attacks by the press in connection with his participation in the Ukrainian deputation to Vienna (probably the one going with demands regarding a Ukrainian university in Lviv), the metropolitan was quoted as saying: "The Poles will perhaps only understand in a hundred years why I went." Should we consider these words as recognition of the unfeasibility of a Polish-Ukrainian agreement following a dozen or so years of the metropolitan's efforts to implement it?

It would be worthwhile, in this context, to take a closer look at the metropolitan's relations with his Polish family. The memoirs of Sister Szembek are an invaluable source. The metropolitan's family occupied an important place in his life and in his plans for the creation of a certain model of Polish-Ukrainian coexistence. To some extent this became an ambition for the entire family of Szeptyckis and Szembeks. Sister Krysta recorded the metropolitan's words on the subject: "There are so many families in which some members feel Polish and others Ruthenian. We too are a Polish-Ukrainian family and by our example we teach the way to live in unity and love." This model of coexistence was to be based not so much on political as on religious motives. According to Sister Krysta's account, this is how the metropolitan's mother, Zofia Szeptycka, expressed it: "the only politics I would understand would be that of joint processions of Poles and Ruthenians to pray for mutual love." During a time of exacerbated conflict between nationalities, this embraced a system of values that allowed the mutual acceptance of family members on both the Ukrainian and the Polish sides.

The myth of a shared Polish-Lithuanian-Ruthenian pre-partition Commonwealth, cited by both Polish and Ukrainian members of the family, certainly helped the Szeptyckis in developing this tolerant point of view. A very significant detail on this is found in Sister Krysta's memoirs. During a family discussion on whether it would be sound for the metropolitan to issue a pastoral epistle to Greek Catholics of Muscovitophile orientation, Jan Kanty Szeptycki, the metropolitan's father, used as an argument against the metropolitan's intent the point that this would be "a betrayal of the Commonwealth." We also know from other memoiristic accounts that the

metropolitan himself upheld the historical symbol of the Commonwealth.[14]

Consequently, Zofia Szeptycka tried to learn to read Ukrainian, Zofia and Jadwiga Szembek endeavored to acquaint themselves with the Eastern liturgy, and Jan Kanty Szeptycki published at his own expense his son's pastoral epistles, translated into Polish by Kazymyr Šeptyc'kyj. The monastic vocation of Kazymyr (to whose life story Szembek's memoirs contribute a great deal of new material) grew under the great influence of the metropolitan's personality and ideas. But his influence on changes within the family is best manifested by the example of the Szembek family, which, after all, had no "Ruthenian" traditions. The resulting encounter between their own Polish patriotism and the situation dominant in the Szeptycki family was extremely positive. The painful fate experienced by Poles under Prussian domination certainly exerted an influence; the Szembeks were able to understand and accept the pro-Ukrainian stance of the Szeptyckis residing in Eastern Galicia. The analogy between the situation of Ruthenian-Ukrainians and their Church in the Polish province of the Habsburg monarchy and the situation of the Polish population and Polish Catholicism in Prussian Great Poland was striking. "Once national awareness seizes broad masses, as was the case with the Silesians, Czechs, Ruthenians, and Moravians, they want to rule themselves, and history cannot be reversed," writes Sister Krysta. This reasoning no doubt was also behind Metropolitan Šeptyc'kyj's interest in the Polish problem in Prussia.

Ever watchful of any opportunity to build Polish-Ukrainian accord in his close family circle, the metropolitan attributed great importance to the awakening in the Sapieha family of the kind of sympathies present in the Szeptycki family; as the author of the memoirs writes, "some of them were always defenders of Ruthenians and expressed great appreciation for the Rev. Metropolitan and his activities."[15] But the metropolitan was not as

[14] It is interesting to compare this passage from the memoirs published below with the report of another Polish memoirist, the Reverend Walerian Meysztowicz. He says: "I was present at the unforgettable meeting of the patriarch Zaleski, who, while a Pole, did not cease to be a Lithuanian, with Archbishop Šeptyc'kyj. The patriarch went out to meet the metropolitan. I remember Šeptyc'kyj's words: 'They want to make me a traitor but you certainly understand that I never want to do anything against the Commonwealth.' He obviously thought of the Commonwealth of Three Nations, in which there was a place for Šeptyc'kyj the Ruthenian and for Zaleski the Lithuanian." See W. Meysztowicz, *Gawędy o czasach i ludziach* (London, 1983), p. 269

[15] A few more details can be added here about the pro-Ukrainian stance of this family. Already in the mid-nineteenth century, Prince Leon Sapieha (1802–1878) developed an interest in the Ukrainian cause. A plan was then devised for a group of Polish aristocrats of Ukrainian origin to adopt the Greek Catholic rite in order to create a social elite of Galician Ukrainians. But Bishop Hryhorij Jaxymovyč refused to give his consent. Metropolitan Andrej Šeptyc'kyj held a different view on this issue. Hearing of the possibility of a marriage between

successful in his endeavors with other relatives, the Skrzyńskis and Rozwadowskis. Sister Krysta's opinion of Władysław Skrzyński's friendly attitude toward the metropolitan is interesting. As a Polish envoy to the Vatican, he contributed considerably, as she says, to the metropolitan's return to Lviv in 1923. Her account, based on family opinion, sounds highly probable, and even explains the unusually zealous involvement of Skrzyński in this matter and his very deft efforts in convincing the Polish government. Nevertheless, it must be mentioned that this undoubtedly outstanding diplomat sometimes used his relationship to the metropolitan against him.[16]

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the granddaughter of Adam Sapieha, Maria, and Stanisław Szeptycki, he wrote to the latter: "I enjoy ever more the idea that this may succeed. You would be the only Ruthenian house among the nobility. Perhaps Providence has directed or will direct this matter so as to give or rather give back to this poor Ruthenian nation, prey to radicalisms and socialisms, what it lost years ago. So my wishes to you coalesce with my wishes for my poor nation and the more you love it, the more and better we understand each other and the closer we are." In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century the Sapiehas continued their support for the Ukrainian cause, although this was true of only some branches of that family. And their pro-Ukrainian stance never went as far as it did with the Szeptyckis. So the metropolitan's hopes were not realized. Nevertheless, a few interesting details can be highlighted. The Sapiehas of Bil'če were supporters of the Reverend Julijan Kujilovs'kyj, Šeptyc'kyj's predecessor at the metropolitan see of Lviv. Prince Adam Sapieha (1828–1903), son of Leon, tried to influence the Vatican's policy vis-à-vis the Union. His wife, Jadwiga, née Sanguszko, intervened through Cardinal Mieczysław Ledóchowski for support of the Jesuit reform of the Basilian order. She then became involved in the cause of the so-called Ruthenian Boarding House of the Resurrection Fathers in Lviv. Her daughter-in-law, Teresa, née Sanguszko, Leon Sapieha's wife, was considered a Ukrainophile. She stayed in close contact with the Ukrainian bishops, Soter Ortyns'kyj and Mykyta Budka. She was the mother of the above-mentioned Maria, wife of Stanisław Szeptycki, and Jadwiga, wife of Aleksander Szembek, Sister Szembek's brother. In 1970, through the efforts of Josyf Cardinal Slipyj, her remains were translated to the vaults of the Uniate Holy Wisdom Cathedral in Rome. Teresa Sapieha's pro-Ukrainian attitude was also held by her son, Paweł Florian. The Sapiehas of Bil'če financed Ukrainian day care centers, schools, and churches on their estates and participated in Ukrainian religious life. See: the personal archives of Jan Kazimierz Szeptycki in Warsaw, Letter from Andrej Šeptyc'kyj to Stanisław Szeptycki, Nervi, 13 April, 1903; Biblioteka Muzeum im. Ks. Czartoryskich w Krakowie, MS. MNK 1190, Jadwiga Sapieha, "Listy od biskupów i księży"; Marian Rosco-Bogdanowicz, *Wspomnienia* (Cracow, 1959), vol. 1, pp. 197–200; "Kniahynja Teresa Sanguško-Sapieha," *Bohoslovija* (Rome), 34 (1970): 269–71; Stefan Kaczała, *Polityka Polaków względem Rusi* (Lviv, 1879), p. 29; Stefan Kieniewicz, *Adam Sapieha (1828–1903)* (Lviv, 1939), pp. 347–98; Czesław Lechicki, "Kuiłowski, Julian," *Polski słownik biograficzny* (hereafter, *PSB*), 16 (1971): 112; *Lysty Osypa Nazaruka do Vjačeslava Lypyns'koho*, ed. Ivan L. Rudnytsky (Philadelphia, 1976), p. 99; Maurycy Prozor (Andrzej A. Zięba), "Stare i nowe w polskiej legendzie o metropolicie Szeptyckim," *Arka* (Cracow), 16 (1986): 102–103; Stefan Świeżawski, *Wielki przełom 1907–1945* (Lublin, 1989), pp. 229–304.

16 Archiwum Akt Nowych w Warszawie (hereafter AAN), Ambasada RP w Londynie, MS. 879, pp. 80–81, "List Władysława Skrzyńskiego do Ministerstwa Spraw Zagranicznych, Rzym 7 VII 1921."

Members of the metropolitan's immediate family often appear in Szembek's memoirs. It may be useful to outline her portrayals of them here. The memoirist presents most vividly the figures of the metropolitan's parents, sketching a particularly interesting picture of the son's attitude toward his mother, which confirms the great influence she had on his religious life. Zofia Szeptycka (1837–1904), daughter of the outstanding Polish comedy writer, Aleksander Fredro, from a wealthy landowner's family, and bearing the Austrian title of count, as did the Szeptyckis, held many positions of honor at the Vienna court. But above all, she was a person of outstanding intelligence and sensitivity.[17] These traits, brilliantly confirmed by her literary and painting creativity, were also reflected in her attitude toward religion. An ardent believer, she was marked by a deep, mystic spirituality—undoubtedly the foundation for her son's religious calling.[18]

The ties linking the metropolitan to his father were of a different kind and, although they were also strong, were not marked by the same emotional intensity as was the bond with his mother (particularly evident from the manner in which he received her death, as Sister Szembek suggestively describes). Jan Kanty Szeptycki (1836–1912)—owner of estates in Galicia and the Congress Kingdom, Austrian count since 1871 (his title was also confirmed in Russia in 1898)—was, according to contemporary accounts, strongly attached to his family and its traditions.[19] At the family seat, at Prylbyči near Javoriv, he amassed a rich collection of archival materials, imprints, and historical memorabilia connected with his family. Entirely Polish, he was nevertheless always aware of his Ruthenian roots. He gladly maintained contacts with representatives of Ukrainian culture in Galicia—Bishop Myxajlo Kuzems'kyj and the professors Myxajlo Malynovs'kyj, Antin Petruševyč, Omeljan Ohonovs'kyj, and Isydor Šaranevyč. His

[17] On Zofia Szeptycka see Dunin-Borkowski, *Almanach*, p. 916; Żychliński, *Złota księga*, 27 (1905): 145–46; W. Kozłowski, "Zofia z hr. Fredrów hr. Szeptycka," *Gazeta Narodowa* (Lviv), 44 (1904), nos. 89: 2, 90: 2, 91: 2, 92: 2, 93: 2, 95: 1–2, 96: 2, 97: 2, 100: 2, 172: 2, 176: 2, 178: 2; Zbigniew Florczak, "Pamiętniki Córki Fredry," *Nowe Książki,* (Warsaw), 20, no. 4 (1968): 235–36; Feliks Fornalczyk, "Familijno-towarzyska encyklopedia Fredrów," *Kamena* (Lublin), 35, no. 8 (1968): 7, 11; "Literatura i sztuka," *Przegląd Polityczny, Społeczny i Literacki* (Lviv), 126 (1907): 3; Pełka, "Fredrowie," *Życie a Sztuka. Ilustrowany dodatek "Kraju"* (St. Petersburg), 1, no. 28 (1901): 321; Henryk Krzeczkowski, *Po namyśle* (Cracow, 1977), pp. 25–29.

[18] Interesting references to Zofia Szeptycka's interest in the Union are found in her reminiscences and correspondence: *Pisma Zofii z Fredrów Szeptyckiej* (Cracow, 1906), vol. 1, pp. 21–22; Zofia z Fredrów Szeptycka, *Wspomnienia z lat ubiegłych* (Wrocław, 1967), p. 106; see also Jan K. Szeptycki, "Gdy w rodzinie wazyły się losy syna. . .," *Polska-Ukraina: 1000 lat sąsiedztwa*, ed. Stanisław Stępień, vol. 1 (Przemyśl, 1990), pp. 181–90.

[19] Kazimierz Chłędowski, *Pamiętniki* (Cracow, 1957), vol. 2, p. 378; Szeptycki, "Gdy w rodzinie," pp. 190–95.

reverence for the family's past certainly exerted no little influence on the decision taken by two of his sons to return to the "Ruthenian faith" and nationality in its modern, Ukrainian form.

Politically, Jan Kanty Szeptycki identified with the program of the Cracow conservatives. Loyal to Austria, in 1866 he formed a regiment of "Cracow militia" (*krakusy*) ready to support the Habsburgs in their war against Prussia. Later, at the beginning of the constitutional era, he took an active part in the political, economic, and cultural life of Galicia: he served as a deputy to the provincial diet (1870), deputy to the Council of State (1870–1873), member of the Austrian House of Lords (from 1899), delegate of the Galician Land Credit Society, and member of the Central Committee for the Research and Preservation of Monuments of History and Art in Vienna (1900). Knight of a number of Austrian and Bavarian orders and distinguished with various Austrian court honors and with membership in the elite Great Bohemian Priorate of the Maltese Order (1871), he was a typical Galician grandee of the second half of the nineteenth century. It would certainly be correct to see a link between the moderately conservative political line taken by the metropolitan and the circle of his father's political friends, especially Paweł Popiel.[20]

Sister Krysta Szembek provides many interesting details concerning the metropolitan's brother, Kazymyr (1869–1951). The description of the circumstances under which his political career as a deputy to the Council of State (1907–1911) ended over his conflict with the right-wing Polish camp (National Democrats) deserves particular attention. Following his decision to join a monastic order and his novitiate in the Benedictine monastery at Beuron, Kazymyr, now Father Klymentij, became the metropolitan's closest collaborator, particularly concerning the Union in Russia. He was even proposed for the post of suffragan in Lviv, but his candidacy was met with reservation by the Vatican because of his close relationship to the metropolitan.[21] Instead, Father Klymentij became the hegumen of the new Studite order, which he organized with his brother. He also became the director of its scholarly research institute in Lviv, then the head of the Ukrainian Institute of the Metropolitan V. Ruts'kyj Catholic Church Alliance in Lviv (1939), and, finally the Greek Catholic exarch of Russia and

[20] M. Andrusiak, "Szeptyccy," *Biuletyn Polsko-Ukraiński* 3, no. 41 (1934): 4; Kyrylo Studyns'kyi, "Spomyn," *Bohoslovija* (Lviv), 4, no. 1/2 (1926): 246–48; Dunin-Borkowski, *Almanach*, pp. 913–14; Jerzy Dunin-Borkowski, *Rocznik szlachty polskiej*, vol. 2 (Lviv, 1883), pp. 762, 771; Janusz Wojtasik, *Idea walki zbrojnej o niepodległość Polski, 1864–1902* (Warsaw, 1985), p. 76; Żychliński, *Złota księga*, 1 (1879): 316.

[21] AAN, Ministerstwo Wyznań Religijnych i Oświecenia Publicznego, MS. 414, pp. 77–799, "List wojewody lwowskiego do MWRiOP, Lwów 1 VIII 1929."

Siberia (1939) and the archimandrite of the Studites (1944).[22]

Sister Krysta quotes a few of his letters, of which the most valuable are those from the years of the Second World War. Father Klymentij spent the war at the side of the metropolitan. Unfortunately, Sister Krysta, for reasons of security, burnt what seems to have been the most interesting letter, from mid-1941, describing the tragedy of Prylbyči and the persecution of both Šeptyc'kyjs by the Soviet regime.

Father Klymentij was present at his brother's death. On its first anniversary, 1 November 1945, he managed to celebrate a liturgy at his grave.[23] On 5 June 1947 he was arrested by the Soviet authorities and died in prison on 1 May 1951.[24]

The fate of Stanisław (1867–1950), another brother, was also linked in a particular way to the activity of the metropolitan. Of all the family, Stanisław was most involved in Polish political life. The pro- Ukrainian stance of his brother often influenced his career. Before Poland regained independence in 1918, Stanisław Szeptycki held important positions in the Austrian army and, as an official in the Austrian Ministry of War, he supported the foundation of the Sich Riflemen, although he rejected the proposal to assume its command. The Polish- Ukrainian conflict over Eastern Galicia put both brothers in opposing political camps, which could have led to a tragic change in their relationship, but did not. There was no friction between them and they corresponded constantly. Nevertheless, after the Central States had concluded the peace treaty of Berestja ceding the Xolm (Chełm) region to Ukraine, Stanisław, as the Austrian governor-general of Lublin, felt compelled to resign from his post because of his Polishness. The metropolitan supported this act in a speech made in the Austrian House of Lords. Consequently, in 1918 General Szeptycki was attacked by the Polish press of the National Democratic camp as being an unsuitable candidate for chief-of-staff of the Polish army, and his relationship with the metropolitan was held up as the charge. In response, he tendered his resignation twice to the commander-in-chief Józef Piłsudski; then, during the Polish-Soviet war in 1920, he refused to assume command of Polish-

22 Nikodem Cieszyński, *Roczniki Katolickie* (Poznań), 8 (1929): 369–71; Dunin-Borkowski, *Almanach*, p. 918; Volodymyr Hordyns'kyj, "Spohady pro o. Joana Petersa, oo. studytiv i brativ Šeptyc'kyx," in *Svityl'nyk istyny*, ed. P. Senycja (Toronto and Chicago, 1983), vol. 3, pp. 463–68; Ivan Lev Šeptyc'kyj, "Otec' Klymentij, arxymandryt Studytiv," *Cerkovnyj kalendar-al'manax na rik 1981* (Chicago, 1981), pp. 103–109; Zbiory Instytutu Historii PAN w Krakowie, "Słownik leśników polskich."

23 Personal archives of J. K. Szeptycki, Letter from Klymentij Šeptyc'kyj to Izabela Szeptycka, Lviv, 1 November 1945.

24 Personal archives of J. K. Szeptycki, Letter from R. Dem'janov, secretary, Consular Division of the Soviet Embassy in Warsaw, to J. K. Szeptycki, Warsaw, 6 November 1989.

Ukrainian troops on the southern front. He became the commander of the northeastern front but even there he could not avoid the consequences of his nationality and family complexities. After the defeat suffered by the Polish troops in that section, the general's enemies charged him with having trusted excessively in his aide-de-camp Markiv, a Ukrainian from Eastern Galicia said to be a Soviet spy.

Soon after, the general assumed the position of army inspector in Cracow and contributed significantly to Poland's recovery of part of Upper Silesia. In spite of directives from Warsaw, he supported the Silesian uprisings and wrote memoranda to the government explaining the necessity of fighting for those lands which were inhabited by an ethnically Polish population, although they had not been a part of historical Poland for many centuries. Finally, on 20 June 1922, General Stanisław Szeptycki, at the head of Polish troops, occupied Katowice in the name of Poland. Here the influence of the Szeptycki family program—their sensitivity to manifestations of modern forms of national awareness based on ethnic and linguistic criteria and their tendency to base their political analyses on these criteria—is clearly demonstrated. The general's involvement in Silesia echoed the above-mentioned activities in that area of the Szembeks and the metropolitan himself.

The general was unable to keep his distance from matters connected with the metropolitan for very long. In 1923 he assumed the post of minister of military affairs, precisely at the moment when the issue of his brother's return to Lviv became most acute. Their relationship became a very delicate matter. They were fearful of maintaining a direct correspondence, which would make their respective situations more difficult.[25]

After 1926 and the assumption of power in Poland by Marshal Józef Piłsudski, with whom the general was in conflict over Piłsudski's ambitions, he left active political life and settled down on the Korczyna estate, near Krosno in southern Poland. Immediately following the Second World War, he held briefly the position of chairman of the Polish Red Cross. He died at Korczyna, six years after the metropolitan's death.[26]

[25] Personal archives of J. K. Szeptycki, Letter from Andrej Šeptyc'kyj to Izabela Szeptycka, Rome, 5 February 1923.

[26] Lonhyn Cehel's'kyj, "Pomer heneral Stanyslav hraf Šeptyc'kyj," *Ameryka* (Philadelphia), 27 November 1950; "Śp. Stanisław Szeptycki," *Dziennik Polski* (Cracow), 13 October 1950; Przemysław Hausner and Tadeusz Kotłowski, "Stanowisko gen. S. Szeptyckiego wobec III Powstania Śląskiego," *Przegląd Zachodni* (Poznań), 27, no. 3 (1971): 151–68; Bohdan Hutten-Czapski, *Sześćdziesiąt lat życia politycznego i towarzyskiego* (Warsaw, 1936), vol. 2, pp. 360, 363, 369, 385, 428, 485, 491, 495, 528; Wacław Jędrzejewicz, *Kronika życia Józefa Piłsudskiego 1867–1935*, vol. 1: *1867–1920* (London, 1977), p. 407; Tadeusz Kryska-Karski and S. Żurowski, *Generałowie Polski Niepodległej* (London, 1976), p. 6; Jerzy Lewandowski,

Aleksander (1866–1940), the eldest of the metropolitan's brothers to appear in Sister Krysta's memoirs, was the owner of Łaszczów and other estates in the Lublin region. He lived a life far removed from politics. Therefore, his relationship with the metropolitan, while still close, was not as complicated as that between the metropolitan and Stanisław. In 1917, soon after his release from prison in Russia, the metropolitan visited Aleksander at Beršad', in Ukraine, where Aleksander lived after his evacuation from the Polish Kingdom following the hostilities. After the war, they probably met at the forum for Akcja Katolicka (Catholic Action), for which the metropolitan was supervisor in connection with his duties in the Episcopate of Poland. Aleksander was also very pious. He founded the convent of the Franciscan Sisters, Missionaries of Mary. He was killed in Zamość by the Germans in 1940.[27]

The monastic calling of two of Aleksander's daughters is one more confirmation of the metropolitan's influence on the spiritual life of his family: Teresa joined the Franciscan Sisters, Missionaries of Mary, and Jadwiga, after the death of her husband, Henryk Dembiński, joined the Franciscan Sisters, Servants of the Cross.

Aleksander's only son, Jan Kazimierz, now the senior member of the Szeptycki family and owner of an impressive collection of family memorabilia and archives, lives in Warsaw. The typescript of the memoirs published here comes from his collection. He is also the author of a number of studies devoted to the family history.[28]

Królestwo Polskie pod okupacją austriacką (Warsaw, 1980), pp. 98, 118, 127; Bogusław Miedziński, "Wspomnienia," *Zeszyty Historyczne* 36 (1976): 169, 172; 37 (1976): 187–89, 193–95, 205–206; Michał Orlicz, *Generał Stanisław Szeptycki i jego czyny* (Vilnius, 1920); Jerzy Rawicz, *Do pierwszej krwi* (Warsaw, 1974), pp. 55–98; idem, "Kuszenie generała Szeptyckiego," *Literatura* 6, no. 38 (1977): 11; Szymon Rudnicki, *Działalność polityczna polskich konserwatystów, 1918–1926* (Warsaw, 1981), p. 54; Józef Skrzypek, *Ukraińcy w Austrii i geneza zamachu na Lwów* (Warsaw, 1939), pp. 19–20; "Sześć listów Józefa Piłsudskiego do Stanisława Szeptyckiego z okresu wojny polsko-radzieckiej," *Dzieje Najnowsze* (Warsaw), 3, no. 3 (1971): 157–73.

27 Personal archives of J. K. Szeptycki, Correspondence between Andrej Šeptyc'kyj and Aleksander and Izabela Szeptycki from the years 1916–1924; *Cars'kyj v''jazen', 1914–1917* (Lviv, 1918), p. 48; Dunin-Borkowski, *Almanach*, p. 917; Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz, *Książka moich wspomnień* (Cracow and Wrocław, 1983), p. 136; Mańkowski, "Pamiętniki," 3: 122; Bolesław Olszewicz, "Lista strat kultury polskiej," *Tygodnik Powszechny* 2, no. 7 (1946): 7.

28 Roman S. Holijat, "Jan K. Šeptyc'kyj rozpovidaje pro Mytropolyta," *Svoboda* (Jersey City and New York), 7 October 1988, pp. 1, 3; Jan K. Szeptycki, "O metropolicie Szeptyckim," *Tygodnik Powszechny*, 38, no. 4 (1984): 4; Szeptycki, "Gdy w rodzinie."

Leon (1877–1939), the youngest of the metropolitan's brothers, became, after the death of Jan Kanty, the owner of the family seat of Prylbyči, curator of the family archives, and host of all the family reunions, in which the metropolitan often participated. Sister Krysta Szembek devotes much attention to Leon and his wife (her sister), Jadwiga. This emphasis, in pages of reminiscences about the metropolitan, is not as strange as it might seem. Leon and Jadwiga Szeptycki continued the pro-Ukrainian traditions of Jan Kanty, and tried to support the metropolitan in his efforts to sustain all possible links between the two increasingly hostile nations of Eastern Galicia. The Szeptyckis invited groups of theology students from the Greek Catholic seminary in Lviv for holidays, but that aroused unfavorable comments from the neighboring landowners. Leon was the family's representative on the board of curators of the Ukrainian National Museum in Lviv. Jadwiga, who took to heart the mission of her brother-in-law, devoted herself to studies of Ukrainian ethnography. She compiled and published the pamphlet *In the Catholic and Uniate Churches*, aimed at spreading knowledge of the principles of Eastern liturgy among the Poles.

Both Leon and Jadwiga died because of their relationship to the metropolitan. On 27 September 1939, soon after the occupation of the eastern parts of the Polish Republic by the Red Army, a squad of NKVD shot them both, destroyed Prylbyči, and desecrated the family graves. Their guest, the Reverend Mariusz Skibniewski, professor at the Papal Oriental Institute in Rome, was also shot. The assailants probably mistook him for Father Klymentij Šeptyc'kyj.[29]

Both tragedies—the deaths of Leon and Jadwiga and soon thereafter the death of Aleksander—affected the metropolitan deeply.

Two of Leon's and Jadwiga's daughters joined the congregation of the Franciscan Sisters, Missionaries of Mary: Zofia took the name of Jozafata in honor of St. Josafat Kuncevyč; Wanda is now a missionary in Syria. The youngest son, Andrzej, joined the Latin rite seminary in Lviv, hoping, to

[29] Editorial archives of *PSB*, Cracow, Anna Szeptycka, "Szeptycka, Jadwiga"; Andrusiak, "Szeptyccy," p. 6; Błaszczyk, "Szeptycka, Jadwiga," *Wielkopolski słownik biograficzny*, p. 738; Dunin-Borkowski, *Almanach*, pp. 911, 918–19; Karol Liszewski, *Wojna polsko-sowiecka 1939* (London, 1986), p. 280; Błaszczyk, "Jadwiga Szeptycka i Zofia Szembekówna," pp. 23–24. Pietrzak, "Fredrowska krew w Wiekopolsce III," *Kierunki* 18, no. 27 (1974): 12; *Słownik polskich teologów katolickich, 1918–1981*, ed. Ludwik Grzebień SJ, vol. 7 (Warsaw, 1983), p. 106; Jadwiga Szeptycka, "Przyczynki do etnografii powiatu jaworowskiego," *Sprawozdania z czynności i posiedzeń Polskiej Akademii Nauk* (Cracow), 40, no. 6 (1935): 218; Jadwiga Szeptycka, *W kościele i w cerkwi* (Cracow, 1926); Olszewicz, "Lista."

quote Sister Krysta, "to demonstrate in his future priestly work the kind of relationships that should exist between the two rites in a shared parish area." He perished in 1940 as a soldier in the Polish army, shot by the NKVD together with other prisoners of war at Katyn'.[30] The oldest son, Jan Leon, also became involved in the improvement of Polish-Ukrainian relations. An activist in the Polish student organization Odrodzenie ("Renaissance") during his student years, he tried to establish contacts with Ukrainian students. He inherited the estate Dev''jatnyky in Eastern Galicia from his uncle, Kazymyr- Klymentij, where he became head of the local rural community of Sokolivka (1933–1939). In that position he tried, as he later reminisced, "to mitigate the severe, narrow- minded, and stupid ordinances of the authority of those times vis-à-vis the local Ukrainian population." He explained his solidarity with and understanding of the Ukrainian position thus: "because we, the Szeptyckis, were related by blood to this nation anyway."[31] In the autumn of 1939 he was arrested by the NKVD and imprisoned successively in Kiev, Kharkiv, and Naxodka (near Vladivostok). He was released on the wave of the liberalization policy toward the Poles after the Polish-Soviet treaty had been signed, and joined the Polish army formed by General Władysław Anders in the Soviet Union. With the Polish army, he participated in battles against the Germans in Africa and Western Europe. After the war, he settled in South Africa, where he lived until his death. He is the author of a few memoiristic essays about the metropolitan, printed after the Second World War in the Ukrainian émigré press.[32]

The text of the memoirs of Sister Krysta Szembek has been known to some researchers,[33] and small fragments from it have been published by Hryhor Lužnyc'kyj in *Ameryka*.[34] But the memoirs have not been accessible in full or in extenso. As mentioned above, the basis for this publication is a typescript copy preserved in the collection of Jan Kazimierz Szeptycki

30 Editorial archives of *PSB*, A. Szeptycka, "Szeptycka, Jadwiga," p. 1.

31 Ivan Lev Šeptyc'kyj, "Slovo do krajan," *Tam naša molodist' cvila. Iljustrovanyj zbirnyk*, ed. Myxajlo Bryk-Dev'jatnyc'kyj (Losser, 1970), p. 3.

32 Archives of *PSB*, Anna Szeptycka, "Szeptycki, Jan"; Szeptycki, "O metropolicie Szeptyckim," p. 4; Świeżawski, *Wielki przełom*, pp. 63–68, 70–71, 85, 108, 118–21, 179–82, 260–62.

33 Portions were used, for example, by Ryszard Torzecki in his article "Z problematyki stosunków polsko-ukraińskich," *Dzieje Najnowsze* 17, no. 2 (1985): 151–66.

34 Hryhor Lužnyc'kyj, "Z notatnyka špargaljarja. Rodynni zv''jazky Sluhy Božoho Mytropolyta Šeptyc'koho Kyr Andreja," *Ameryka*, 9 September 1969, p. 2.

in Warsaw: sincere appreciation is due him for making the text accessible and for his valuable commentaries, which have helped in preparing the memoirs for print. Another copy of the typescript is in the Potworowski-Szeptycki Family collection in the National Archives of Canada in Ottawa, under the shelf number MG 30 D 334. The correspondence between the metropolitan and Sister Szembek, included in the memoirs, is also preserved in the collection of the metropolitan's writings, being prepared for the beatification process in Rome.[35]

No changes have been made in the text except to modernize punctuation. Additional notes made by the author herself are included as footnotes; my own explanations and comments are footnoted within square brackets. A few obvious mistakes made by the author have been corrected in my notes. Sister Szembek's remarks on some aspects of Polish-Ukrainian relations have been left without comment; she expresses the Polish opinion of the time, and as such her comments constitute a source for learning about the mentality of her socio-national group.

The whole of Sister Szembek's work encompasses three volumes. The first volume is published here. Volume two contains polemic on metropolitan Šeptyc'kyj with another memoirist, Elżbieta Dębicka, daughter of a well-known conservative politician and essayist from Galicia, Count Ludwik Dębicki.[36] The third volume consists of a number of appendices: copies of publications about the metropolitan, a few of his pastoral epistles, and the text of E. Dębicka's memoirs.[37]

35 Stepan Harvanko, "Vvedennja," in Andrej Šeptyc'kyj, *Tvory (asketyčno-moral'ni)*, Praci Hreko-Katolyc'koji Bohoslovs'koji Akademiji, 45–47 (Rome, 1978), p. xviii; Myron Momryk, *Archival Sources for the Study of Polish Canadians* (Ottawa, 1987), p. 25.

36 Personal archives of J. K. Szeptycki, Sister Maria Krysta (Szembek), "Odpowiedź na rozprawę 'Sprawa ruska' Elżbiety Dębickiej i jej zarzuty przeciw Metropolicie Andrzejowi Szeptyckiemu."

37 The contents of volume 3 are: E. Dębicka, "Sprawa ruska"; the text of the resolutions of the Petrograd synod of 1917; the 1904 pastoral epistle of Metropolitan Andrej Šeptyc'kyj to Polish Greek Catholics; the metropolitan's pastoral epistle of 1938 on the destruction of Orthodox churches; a copy of the article by Jan Urban SJ, "Jubileusz ks. metropolity Szeptyckiego," published in the journal *Oriens*; a questionnaire compiled by Russian authorities in 1911, mentioning Metropolitan Šeptyc'kyj's action in Russia (copy of a document, probably from the archives of the Reverend Bronisław Ussas); an article from *La Croix* about Metropolitan J. Slipyj; a fragment from the 1902 pastoral epistle of Metropolitan A. Šeptyc'kyj "to the superiors and students of the seminary at Lviv"; his pastoral epistle of 1943; an account entitled "Śmierć metropolity opowiedziana przez świadka księdza Józefa"; a copy of the article by P. T. Rzewuski, "Na usługach jedności," published in the journal *Misje Katolickie*.

Of all the printed[38] or manuscript[39] family reminiscences of the metropolitan, the work by Sister Szembek is second in importance only to his mother's memoirs, which describe the history of Roman Šeptyc'kyj's monastic calling. Szembek gives an account of the events she had experienced and remembered since 1896; her memoirs thus continue the memoirs and correspondence of Zofia Szeptycka, edited by her sons, Kazymyr-Klymentij and Leon.

The choice of precisely the first volume of Szembek's work for publication has been dictated by two considerations. First, in contrast to the works by Kazymyr-Klymentij and Leon Szeptycki and Felicja Fredro-Skarbkowa, this work is devoted entirely to the metropolitan. Second, unlike the second and third volumes, in the first volume Szembek relies exclusively on her own memory and correspondence with the metropolitan. Because of this, her account, although subjective, is the most interesting. While not claiming to be a comprehensive analysis of the metropolitan, it does provide significant material that may contribute new data for biographic studies of Andrej Šeptyc'kyj.

Jagellonian University, Cracow

Translated from Polish by Bohdan Struminsky

[38] Sofija z Fredriv Šeptyc'ka, *Molodist' i poklykannja o. Romana Šeptyc'koho* (Winnipeg and Toronto, 1965; 2nd ed. abridged and revised, Rome, 1987); Vincent Tomaskiewicz, *Memoirs of a Mother* (Winnipeg, 1982). See also Sophie Szeptycka- Fredro, "Léon XIII et Roman André Šeptyc'kyj," *Analecta Ordinis S. Basilii Magni*, ser. 2, sec. 2, vol. 1, fasc. 4 (Rome, 1953), pp. 582–86; Z. Szeptycka, *Wspomnienia; Pisma Zofii z Fredrów Szeptyckiej; Fredro i Fredrusie*, ed. Bogdan Zakrzewski (Wrocław, 1974); A[nna] Š[eptyc'ka], "Te, ščo pam''jataju pro moho djad'ka Mytropolyta," *Ameryka*, 2, 8, and 9 February 1984; Ivan L. Šeptyc'kyj, "Żmutok spomyniv pro mojix stryjkiv," *Tam naša molodist'*, pp. 41–50; idem, "Moji spomyny pro Mytropolyta Kyr Andreja Šeptyc'koho," *Ukrajins'ki visti* (Edmonton), 11–14 (1970): 7–8; there were also other newspaper reprints of I. L. Šeptyc'kyj's reminiscences.

[39] Biblioteka Jagiellońska w Krakowie, MS. 9812, III, "Z opowiadań i wspomnień Felicji (Fredro-) Skarbkowej, spisała i opracowała Maria z Paygertów Bobrzyńska"; Archives of J. K. Szeptycki, "Korespondencja (Zofii Szeptyckiej) z lat 1856–1904," 3 vols., ed. Kazymyr (Klymentij) and Leon Szeptycki.



SISTER MARIA KRYSTA (ZOFIA) SZEMBEK
Szymanów, 1978

(from the collection of Jan Kazimierz Szeptycki, Warsaw)

WSPOMNIENIA O METROPOLICIE ANDRZEJU ROMANIE SZEPTYCKIM SPISANE DLA DZIECI I WNUKÓW MEJ UKOCHANEJ SIOSTRY JADWIGI SZEPTYCKIEJ

S[iostra] M[aria] Krysta
Od Najśw[iętszego] Sakramentu Zgrom[adzenia] SS. Niep[okalanego] Pocz[ęcia] N[ajświętszej] M[aryi] P[anny]

Wuja Romana Szeptyckiego, ówczesnego bazylianina O[jca] Andrzeja, poznałam, gdy w czerwcu 1896 r. przyjechał do Siemianic, zawezwany przez moją Matkę, po nagłej śmierci mego Ojca.[40] Śmierć ta "nagła i niespodziewana" wstrząsnęła moją Matką do głębi, nie tylko dlatego, że Rodzice kochali się bardzo i byli z sobą najszczęśliwsi, ale ze względu na to, że choć Ojciec był u spowiedzi wielkanocnej przed kilku tygodniami, a teraz otrzymał Ostatnie Namaszczenie, nie mógł się wyspowiadać przed śmiercią. Nad ranem 15-go maja w jednej chwili stracił przytomność—i gdy proboszcz, ks. Laskowski[41] nadszedł z Wiatykiem i Olejami św[iętymi], nie dawał już znaku życia. W udręce z tego powodu, zatelegrafowała Matka w kilka dni później, jeszcze za bytności Babki Szeptyckiej, która za zrządzeniem Bożym była obecna przy śmierci Ojca—do brata ciotecznego: "Byłabym bardzo wdzięczna, gdybyś mógł przyjechać." Nie mógł tego uczynić natychmiast, bo wyjeżdżał właśnie na misje, po których zapowiedział swój przyjazd. Swoją odpowiedź na zawezwanie kończył uściskiem dla nas, dzieci: "One mnie nie pamiętają, ale ja je znam dobrze."

Od wstąpienia do zakonu bazylianów, O. Andrzej po raz pierwszy przybywał do nas; dawniej, gdy we Wrocławiu uczęszczał na prawo, bywał nieraz w Siemianicach. Jako akademik, trzymał mnie do chrztu z wujeczną babką moją Wandą Niemojowską[42] z Marchwacza w wilią Niepokalanego Poczęcia Najśw[iętszej] Maryi Panny 1884 r.[43] Mimo różnicy wieku, wuj Roman i mój Ojciec kochali się bardzo. Odwiedzał go raz Ojciec w Dobromilu[44] jako nowicjusza i spotkał niosącego wiadro z wodą. —"Czy on tam nieraz nie jest głodny"—mówił. Jedna z naszych rezydentek w Siemianicach, ukochana przez nas Kazimiera Breańska, bratanica generała

[40] [15 May 1896.]

[41] [Kazimierz Laskowski (1862–1928), then canon of Gniezno and official of the metropolitan curia.]

[42] [Wanda Niemojowska, née Tokarska, widow of Kazimierz, brother of Felicja Szembekowa, née Niemojowska, grandmother of the memoirist.]

[43] W odpisie metryki z 22.XI.1909 r. błędnie jest podany rok 1885.

[44] [The novitiate of the Basilians was in Dobromyl'. This is where Roman Šeptyc'kyj stayed in 1888–1892, with interruptions.]

Breańskiego,[45] wspominała, jak stosunek młodego akademika do otoczenia uderzał życzliwą uprzejmością, a szacunkiem dla starszych. We Wrocławiu wuj Roman i brat jego Aleksander przyczynili się do założenia stowarzyszenia im. Hozjusza[46] dla Ślązaków, w którym ci—a szczególnie przyszli kapłani—znajdowali oparcie przeciw germanizacji.[47]

"Wujcio Romcio", jak nazywaliśmy O. Andrzeja, musiał przyjechać późnym wieczorem, bo zobaczyłam go dopiero nazajutrz, gdy go w ranku moja Matka przyprowadziła do naszego dziecinnego pokoju. Wysoki, o postaci ascetycznej, wzrok miał pełen dobroci, a chwilami przenikający, z uśmiechem zapytał: "Czy dzieci są grzeczne?" i pozyskał od razu nasze serca. Moja siostra Inka, o 1 1/2 roku starsza odemnie przygotowywała się właśnie do I-ej Komunii św., O. Andrzej miał z nią kilka razy rozmowy przygotowawcze, a w jednej pogadance w ogrodzie uczestniczyliśmy mój brat Oleś i ja. Wuj Roman mówił wówczas o posłuszeństwie wogóle i o posłuszeństwie natchnieniom Bożym. "Pan Bóg nie pokazuje się nam przez otwarte okienko w niebie, aby nam objawić swą wolę, ale głos Jego słyszymy wewnętrznie." Opowiedział nam też legendę o św. Aleksym. Widzę, jak po wieczerzy, siedział z Matką naszą na balkonie, podczas gdyśmy się bawili wkoło "parteru"—rozmawiali długo o czyśćcu. Pobyt Wuja był krótki, lecz Matka powiedziała potem: "Dużo mi dobrego zrobił".

Ciotka Szeptycka, przez nas, dzieci, "Babcią Zosią" zwana, pisywała często do mojej Matki, donosząc o dziejach synów, a więc i o "Romciu", "Romtuchu", czasem "O[jcem] Andrzejem" przez nią zwanym.[48] Wymienialiśmy go zawsze przy naszym wieczornym pacierzu.

O. Andrzej pamiętał, że mnie trzymał do chrztu: w liście do mej Matki przysłał mi raz obrazek Anioła Stróża z napisem: "Zosi na pamiątkę—od chrzestnego ojca", a raz—to już było później—napisał osobny list, w którym zapytywał: "Jak walczysz z tą stugłową hydrą, światem zwaną?" List ten zrobił na mnie duże wrażenie, wciąż go odczytywałam.

45 [Feliks Kazimierz Breański (1794–1884), colonel in the Polish army, participant in the uprising against Russia in 1830/1831, officer in the Sardinian army in 1849–1851 and general in the Ottoman army in 1856.]

46 [Societas Hosiana, a Catholic organization for Polish students at the University of Wrocław in 1883–1885; it was later disbanded by German authorities, as were other Polish student associations.]

47 W jednym z roczników "Świata Słowiańskiego" z lat 1909–1914 jest o tym wzmianka.

48 Śliczne były owe listy, jak wszystkie Babci, która mówiła kiedyś, że pisząc pamiętać należy o wszystkim, co interesuje osobę list otrzymującą i miłym jest dla niej.

Nie pamiętam w którym roku, zdaje się w 1899, moja Matka zawiozła nas w lecie do Wujostwa Szeptyckich, do Przyłbic, abyśmy poznały to ukochane gniazdo rodzinne, które dla niej było od dzieciństwa drugim domem. O. Andrzej przyjechał tam na jeden dzień z drugim bazylianinem. Obaj zapuścili czasowo brody, bo jechali na misje do Bułgarii, gdzie duchowni musieli nosić zarost.[49] Inka wymalowała wówczas akwarelą widok na staw, w którym wiejskie kobiety piorą bieliznę, uderzając ją kijami. Siedziała malując w ogrodzie mniej więcej tam, gdzie dziś się jej grób znajduje.

Wkrótce potem O. Andrzej mianowany został biskupem stanisławowskim.[50] Miał lat 34. Babka Szeptycka, donosząc o tym mej matce pisała, że się wzbraniał, bo jedynym pragnieniem jego była praca misyjna, napisał odwołanie do Stolicy św., ale sam Leon XIII wyraził mu swą wolę przez Kardynała Ledóchowskiego:[51] "A gdzież posłuszeństwo zakonne?" dodawał kardynał: "zbieraj manatki—i jedź!" To też musiał uczynić O. Andrzej.

W lecie 1900 r. w czasie wielkiego jubileuszu, ogłoszonego przez Ojca św.,[52] moja Matka, Inka i ja odbyłyśmy pielgrzymkę do Rzymu. Spotkałyśmy się tam z biskupem Andrzejem, który przyjechał na czele pielgrzymki diecezjalnej. W hotelu, w którym zamieszkałyśmy, a w którym zatrzymywały się różne, liczniejsze pielgrzymki, odwiedził nas—o ile pamiętam—dwa razy. Gdy wieczorem wchodził na salę i zbliżał się do naszego stolika, jego wysoka postać zwracała na siebie uwagę wszystkich, choć ukrywał krzyż biskupi, aby go nie witano—zwyczajem rzymskim—przyklękaniem. Doradzał nam co zwiedzać. Raz wybraliśmy się wspólnie dwoma pojazdami: biskup Andrzej, ks[iężna] Adamowa Sapieżyna, syn jej Paweł z żoną, synowa, ks[iężna] Leonowa z Bilcza[53] i my, aby zwiedzić katakumby św. Kaliksta. Cudna była pogoda, gdyśmy przez Via Appia jechali. Oprowadzał nas wymowny trapista, który nie zorientował się, kim jest duchowny tak dobrze znający katakumby, objaśniający greckie napisy i dopiero usłyszawszy, jak ktoś go biskupem tytułuje, upadł przed nim na

49 [He never left on his missionary trip to Orthodox Bulgaria. The Basilian provincial at that time, Michał Mycielski SJ, did not obtain consent from the Vatican.]

50 [1 February 1899.]

51 [Mieczysław Halka-Ledóchowski (1822–1902), metropolitan of Poznań and Gniezno but, prevented from fulfilling his function during Bismarck's Kulturkampf, he resided in Rome. Cardinal from 1875 and member of the cardinals' commission for agreement with Russia and, from 1892, prefect of the Congregation for the Propagation of Faith.]

52 [Leon XIII, Vincenzo Pecci (1810–1903), pope from 1878.]

53 [Jadwiga Sapieżyna, née Sanguszko (1830–1918), wife of the outstanding Galician politician Adam Sapieha (1828–1903); Paweł Jan Sapieha (1860–1934), married to Matylda, née Windischgraetz (1873–1968); Teresa Sapieha, née Sanguszko (1864–1954), wife of Lew Sapieha (1856–1893). See fn. 15 above.]

kolana i prosił o błogosławieństwo. Gdy wskazując zagłębienie, w które zbierano krew męczenników, trapista prosił o różańce, by je przytknąć do świętego miejsca, Biskup na równi z innymi podał różaniec, który zawsze przy sobie nosił.

Raz spotkałyśmy się niespodziewanie z Biskupem w muzeum watykańskim, które lubił odwiedzać i służył nam za przewodnika, robiąc różne uwagi o arcydziełach sztuki. Wchodząc pewnego dnia do katedry św. Piotra, usłyszałyśmy w bocznej kaplicy wspaniałe ruskie śpiewy: to biskup Andrzej odprawiał uroczystą Mszę św. z uczestnictwem pielgrzymki i alumnów ruskiego kolegium.

Miałyśmy mieć wspólną z wielu pielgrzymkami audiencję u Leona XIII w katedrze św. Piotra. Był to dzień niezapomniany. Przyszłyśmy wcześnie i zajęły miejsca w pobliżu konfesji św. Piotra i przejścia przeznaczonego dla Ojca św[iętego]. Pielgrzymki: ruska, włoska, sabaudzka, irlandzka, niemiecka i pojedyńczy pielgrzymi zaczęli się schodzić. Jak zwykle Włoszki obok nas dzieliły się swymi wrażeniami. Pielgrzymki śpiewały pieśni w różnych językach, kolejno, czasem nawet równocześnie, lecz wobec ogromu bazyliki, głosy sobie nie przeszkadzały. Zabrzmiał wielogłosowy śpiew: "Preczystaja Diwo, Maty ruskoho kraju". —"Proszę słuchać, proszę słuchać—przemówiła z ożywieniem Włoszka koło mnie—To Rusini śpiewają... Niedawno przyjechali... A jak się modlą! Wczoraj modlili się w jednym kościele tak, jak gdyby Pan Bóg miał na nich zstąpić. Oni śpiewają piękniej niż Włosi... A ubierają się w skóry zwierzęce (des peaux de bêtes)[54] ..." Lecz już okrzyki uniesienia witały Leona XIII, wnoszonego na sedii, poprzedzonego gwardią papieską. Włoszki powskakiwały na krzesła, powiewając chustkami. "E viva il papa e re! e viva!" "Niech żyje Papież i Król". Papież zdawał się płynąć nad głowami, czarne jego, pełne życia oczy obejmowały pielgrzymów, których błogosławił na dwie strony. Potem zasiadł na tronie koło ołtarza św. Piotra. Biskupi zbliżali się i składali mu kolejno homagium, a Papież każdego ściskał za głowę i oddzielnie błogosławił. Musiał poznać młodego biskupa Andrzeja, którego znał jeszcze nim wstąpił do zakonu, bo dłużej się nad nim zatrzymał i coś mu powiedział. Potem podszedł do ołtarza i silnym, dźwięcznym głosem odśpiewał orację i udzielił błogosławieństwa zebranym tłumom, poświęcił znakiem krzyża dewocjonalia, które każdy trzymał i wśród niewymownego entuzjazmu, okrzyków, powiewania chustkami, przy dźwiękach hymnu papieskiego, odniesiony został do papieskich apartamentów.

Wiadomym już było, że Biskup Andrzej miał objąć arcybiskupią stolicę

[54] Kożuchy nieposzyte.

lwowską po Metropolicie Kuiłowskim;[55] gdy go o to zapytała ks[iężna] Teresa Sapieżyna, z pewnym smutkiem w głosie odpowiedział: "Zdaje się, że tak".

Wracając do kraju, zatrzymałyśmy się w Bozen,[56] gdzie była Babka Szeptycka z synem Kazimierzem, Finusią, panną służącą i Antonim służącym, który pełnił tu funkcję kucharza. Miałyśmy już wyjeżdżać, gdy nadjechał biskup Andrzej, który, w powrotnej drodze, odłączył się od swej pielgrzymki, by matkę odwiedzić. Mocno mu już dolegała noga o rozszerzonych żyłach w następstwie szkarlatyny w młodym wieku przebytej, lecz gdy mu Babcia zaproponowała, aby się na kanapie położył, odpowiedział: "Przy paniach—nigdy!".

Przed opuszczeniem Stanisławowa, gdzie założył bibliotekę, wydał w pałacu biskupim obiad dla ubogich i mówił swej Matce, że się czuje szczęśliwy na myśl, że każdy—bez różnicy narodowości i obrządku, a nawet wiary, może w nim wziąć udział w duchu miłości Bożej.

Jako dzieci—nie mogłyśmy sobie zdawać należycie sprawy, czym śmierć mego ojca była dla naszej Matki,—ale rozumiała to Babka Szeptycka i jej to zawdzięczamy coraz częstsze pobyty w Przyłbicach, przede wszystkim w czasie świąt Bożego Narodzenia. W atmosferze miłości rodzinnej Mama mniej odczuwała pustkę, jaką w jej życiu brak naszego Ojca wytworzył. Na ingresie Metropolity we Lwowie, w zimie 1900/01 r.[57] byli obecni: jego ojciec wuj Jan i bracia: Kazimierz i Leon, wracający z moją Matką z polowania w Dziewiętnikach. Witali go przemowami Rusini i Polacy, ci ostatni podobno niezbyt szczęśliwie wobec ówczesnych naprężonych stosunków.[58] Potem Metropolita wstąpił na mównicę, z której przemówił, kończąc słowami: "Mir wsim" i błogosławieństwem. Z tym pragnieniem wstępował na stolicę arcybiskupią—nie przeczuwał ani on, ani nikt z obecnych, w jak bolesnych okolicznościach przyjdzie mu ją żegnać.

* * *

W lecie 1901 r. Metropolita miał być u dr. Mikulicza[59] we Wrocławiu, by się poradzić na nogi. Była mowa o operacji żył, ale do niej nie doszło.

55 [Julijan Kujilovs'kyj (1828–1900), bishop coadjutor of Peremyšl' (Przemyśl) in 1890, bishop of Stanyslaviv in 1891, and Greek Catholic metropolitan of Lviv in 1899.]

56 [Bozen (Botzen, Bolzano), a meteorological station in south Tyrol, in Austria until 1918, now in Italy.]

57 [13 January 1901.]

58 [An allusion to the events connected with the election for the Council of State, which was scheduled for December 1900, ahead of the normal time.]

59 [Jan Antoni Mikulicz (1850–1905), surgeon, professor at the universities of Cracow, Wrocław, and Königsberg.]

Z Wrocławia przyjechał na jeden, czy dwa dni do Siemianic. Moja siostra zainicjowała uroczyste przyjęcie. Na stację, do Kostowa czwórką srokatych koni przystrojonych zielenią, pojechała nasza Matka, by Metropolitę powitać. Spotkała się tam z proboszczem, ks. Klementowskim,[60] który uważał za swój obowiązek powitanie dostojnego gościa, przybywającego w granice jego parafii. Myśmy czekali przed domem, na ganku (t. zw. "peronie"). Joasia Konert, nasza nauczycielka, Karol Hadasz, nauczyciel mego brata, Tomasz Lisiewicz,[61] malarz, uczeń Matejki, a nasz przyjaciel, od czasu, gdy, jeszcze za życia mego Ojca, malował portret mej Matki—i domownicy. Od bramy stary Antek jechał stępa, a nasza trójka z Lisiewiczem, który nas poprzednio wyuczył, zaśpiewaliśmy ile sił stało "Mnohaja lita", ku wielkiemu zdziwieniu Metropolity. Później nie było już uroczystego nastroju, Metropolita był prosty, serdeczny, bezpośredni w stosunku do każdego, nieraz żartował i oceniał humor. Gdy później pisywał niekiedy do mej Matki, nie omieszkał nigdy przesłać ukłonów i pozdrowień dla domowników, których poznał. Było w nim coś, co podbijało serca wszystkich. Wieczorem, po przyjeździe, panowie i Oleś pojechali z Metropolitą do kąpieli w Prośnie; stała tam od lat ta sama "Budka kąpielowa" z rysunkami stryja Stanisława,[62] z których jeden przedstawiał podkasaną dziewczynkę piorącą—drugi chłopca z wędką. Wrócili już o księżycu.

Pozajutrz wypadała niedziela. Po odprawieniu Mszy św. był Metropolita u proboszcza, który mu przedstawił swą matkę staruszkę, aby ją pobłogosławił, a potem prosił, aby w czasie sumy wygłosił kazanie. Zgodził się chętnie i wróciliśmy do domu. Przed powtórnym udaniem się do Kościoła, Metropolita usunął się na chwilę, "aby się skupić przed kazaniem". Mówił na tle Ewangelii na 6-tą niedzielę po Zielonych Świątkach o rozmnożeniu chleba—najpierw o miłości Pana Jezusa dla ludzi, dziś takiej samej, jak dawniej—a potem o konieczności wiary w cuda. "Po tym można poznać przynależność do Kościoła, jeżeli na zapytanie: Wierzysz ty w cuda? otrzymamy odpowiedź: Wierzę!" Przed wyjazdem powiedział nam Metropolita, że napisze do biskupa Likowskiego,[63] w którego diecezji wygłosił kazanie, że nie mógł się z nim

60 [Wacław Klementowski (1872–before 1920), parish priest of Baranów from 1906.]

61 [Tomasz Lisiewicz (1857–1930), Polish painter, primarily of religious themes, collaborator of Jan Matejko. He was closely associated with the Szeptycki and Szembek families.]

62 [Stanisław Szembek (1849–1891), owner of Wysocko in Great Poland, amateur painter.]

63 [Edward Likowski (1836–1915), first bishop suffragan, then from 1914 metropolitan of Gniezno and Poznań, historian of the Union, author of *Dzieje Kościoła unickiego na Litwie i Rusi w XVIII i XIX wieku uważane głównie ze względu na przyczyny jego upadku* (Poznań: Drukarnia J. Leitgebera, 1888).]

wcześniej porozumieć. Na pamiątkę swej bytności przysłał nam relikwie świętych męczenników z autentykami.

Święta Bożego Narodzenia w zimie 1901/1902 spędziliśmy znów w Przyłbicach. Uroku tych świąt, wspomnień, jakie zostawiły, nic oddać nie może; czyniły każdego lepszym. Na wilię i święta przyjechał Metropolita z bratem Grodzkim,[64] bazylianinem; różnica kalendarza wschodniego dawała mu możność spędzania świąt w rodzinie. W wilii brali udział: proboszcz łaciński, ks. kanonik Oberc,[65] dwaj uniccy, ks. Jaremkiewicz[66] i ks. Maksymowicz,[67] panny służące oraz wszyscy oficjaliści. Księża uniccy mówili z Metropolitą po rusku. Po kolędach i rozmowie, dość późnym wieczorem, Metropolita wyraził życzenie, aby pojechać na pasterkę do Bruchnala:[68] "Tak dawno na niej nie byłem". Wyruszyliśmy w kilka par sań—panie naprzód—zdrowie Babci nie pozwoliło jej, rozumie się, jechać. Klęczałyśmy już w ławkach prezbiterium, gdy ukazały się w drzwiach kościelnych ogromne postacie wuja Jana z czterema synami: Metropolitą, przewyższającym go wzrostem, Stanisławem, Kazimierzem i Leonem. Wybiła północ. Cały kościół zaczął śpiewać "Anioł pasterzom mówił". Rozpoczęła się pasterka.

Do tradycji przyłbickiej należała świąteczna loteria. Drzewko obwieszone było "fantami", które każdy oglądął, określając w myśli, coby chciał wygrać i samo oglądanie było już chwilą pełną radości i emocji. U Babci, która wszystko obmyślała i sprowadzała dary,—dostawało się fasolki, a za te fasolki "kupowało" losy i następował moment napięcia, szukanie fantu, jeśli los był pełny. A po skończonej loterii bywały nieraz pertraktacje i wymiany, by dostać upatrzony fant: ogromne bibuły, notesy przeróżne, kalendarze, ołówki. . . Nie pamiętam o co założyłam się z ks. Metropolitą—zakład wygrałam—obiecał przysłać mi wygraną po swym powrocie do Lwowa. Myślałam, że w żart obróci i zapomni, lecz nie—przysłał medal brązowy pradziadka, Aleksandra Fredry,[69] bardzo już

[64] [Josyf Grods'kyj (1869–after 1944), Basilian, the metropolitan's long-time monastic aide, then caretaker of the metropolitan's residence. He was the metropolitan's traveling companion to America (1910, 1921–1922), and author of a diary (now in the state archives in Lviv), of which fragments were published during the metropolitan's lifetime.]

[65] [Adam Oberc (1863–1904/5), the Roman Catholic parish priest of Bruxnal'.]

[66] [Luka Jaremkevyč (1848–before 1914), the Greek Catholic parish priest of Bruxnal'.]

[67] [Hryhorij Maksymovyč (1876–between 1919 and 1928), then the administrator of the Greek Catholic parish at Prylbyči and from 1911 the parish priest at Boljanovyči.]

[68] [The Roman Catholic church closest to Prylbyči, location of many Szeptycki family festivities, was in Bruxnal'.]

[69] [Aleksander Fredro (1793–1876), the prominent Polish comedy writer, Galician landlord, participant in Napoleon I's military campaigns. The medal mentioned here is that "For the Man of Great Merit," coined in honor of Fredro in 1865.]

wówczas rzadki. Po wybiciu go przez miasto Lwów za życia Fredry, wuj Jan każdemu synowi medal taki darował.

Widać było, jak dobrze się czuł Metropolita wśród wspomnień z lat dziecinnych, odnowionych w tej beztroskiej, Bożej atmosferze przyłbickiej. Tak serdecznie się śmiał, siedząc koło swej Matki, w czasie wieczornych przedstawień amatorskich. Odgrywaliśmy szarady, które widzowie musieli odgadywać, a raz, Matka moja, Kazio i Leoś odegrali jedną z tych sztuk z dawnego repertuaru przyłbickiego, napisanych przez Mamę. Jakżeż nie było się śmiać, gdy stary siostrzeniec "Cioci Kundzi"—imienia dziś nie pamiętam—szuka swego szóstego palca, rzekomo przez nią zatrzaśniętego w kuferku i spostrzega swoją krew, która się okazuje sokiem malinowym ze stłuczonej butelki. "Jakżeż to głupie"—mówi śmiejąc się Metropolita—i śmieje się Babcia i Wuj się śmieje i wszyscy się śmieją. Reżyserem szarad była głównie Inka; w pokoju Wuja bywały narady i charakteryzowanie aktorów, scena była w pokoiku przejściowym do pokoju Babci, w którym siedzieli widzowie. Kazio grał z takim komizmem, że wystarczało by się na scenie pokazał, jako żyd, czy lekarz, by wszyscy się śmieli. Pamiętam pierwszą scenę jednej z szarad: Czarniecki,[70] pantomimę. Na scenie, o słabym zielonkawym oświetleniu siedziała Inka zamyślona, w powłóczystej szacie—ukazuje się postać udrapowana w prześcieradło (Leon)—podchodzi ku niej, robi tajemnicze znaki, ona podaje mu rękę, on ją prowadzi w dal wskazując ku górze. Babcia pierwsza odgadła: "Czar", a może domyśliła się, że dla Leosia, który tej zimy zaczął się w Ince kochać, ta scena miała symboliczne znaczenie. Innym razem trzeba było w szaradzie odtworzyć literę: K. Inka ułożyła w jednej chwili wiersz, który zadeklamowała na scenie:

"Znajdziesz mnie w dawnej, piastowskiej koronie", a kończyła apostrofą do Kazia, który tym razem był widzem: "I w twej koszuli, wuju Kazimierzu!"

"To pewnie dziura"—mruknął Kazio, ale ktoś odgadł: "Litera: K", brakująca do całości wyrazu.

Rano Finusia przygotowywała w salonie ołtarz i Metropolita odprawiał Mszę św. Służył do niej jeden z braci, zazwyczaj Leon. Przede Mszą Metropolita nieraz spowiadał, czasem swą Matkę—teraz i myśmy za przykładem Babci zaczęli się u niego spowiadać,—czasem kogoś z domowników.

[70] [Stefan Czarniecki (1599–1665), participant in the wars between the Commonwealth and the Ukrainian Cossacks and Sweden; the Crownland's field hetman in 1664.]

Z Ojcem swym rozmawiał Metropolita często o ówczesnych stosunkach polsko-ruskich; przysłuchiwałam się pilnie, aby sobie własny, objektywny pogląd wyrobić. Z zamiłowaniem czytałam równocześnie dużo z przeszłości historycznej. Położenie Metropolity było trudne. Pochodził z rodziny ruskiej, unickiej, spolszczonej od kilku pokoleń, rodziny, która zawsze—bo i w czasach gdy wyznawała obrządek grecko-katolicki—wiernie służyła Rzeczypospolitej. Mając dwóch Metropolitów kijowskich, Biskupów Lwowskich, Atanazego, godnego naśladowcę Rutskiego i Lwa (którzy zbudowali cerkiew i pałac św. Jura),—miała i biskupów łacińskich, z których jeden—jak wspomina Kitowicz—posypywał kiedyś popiołem głowę króla Stanisława Poniatowskiego.[71] Szeptyccy pamiętali o swych ruskich tradycjach, a i Rusini pamiętali o nich. Patrzyli z pewnym niepokojem, czy Metropolita nie zechce ich polszczyć, a obrządku latynizować? Z drugiej strony Polacy pokładali w pierwszych latach jakieś mgliste nadzieje, że Metropolita będzie działał dla dobra rzekomych "interesów polskich"—nie zdawali sobie sprawy z tego, że gdy raz uświadomienie narodowe ogarnia szerokie masy—a tak było u Ślązaków, Czechów, Rusinów, Morawian—to chcą same sobą rządzić i historia nie da się cofnąć. Metropolita, mając na uwadze dobro religijne swych diecezjan, musiał stać z nimi na wspólnej płaszczyźnie narodowej.

W r. 1904 wydał Metropolita list pasterski w języku polskim "Do Polaków obrządku grecko-katolickiego". "W waszych przekonaniach patriotycznych"—pisał—"mogę was tylko utwierdzić"...."choć pochodzicie po większej części z rodzin ruskich"—i pouczał ich o obowiązkach religijnych. W związku z tym słyszałam, jak rozważał kiedyś wobec Wuja Jana, czy nie powinien napisać listu pasterskiego po rosyjsku do Rusinów-Moskalofilów, uważających się za jedno z Moskalami, choć ich stanowisko go bolało.[72] Stał na zasadzie św. Pawła: "Dziękuję Bogu, że językiem was wszystkich mówię".[73] Gdy przy wizytacji archidiecezji witali go niekiedy i rabini—odpowiadał im po hebrajsku. Ale Wuj Jan powiedział: "To byłaby zdrada wobec Rzeczypospolitej". Użył tego terminu, jakgdybyśmy żyli w przedrozbiorowej Polsce. To przeważyło. Metropolita Listu nie napisał.

[71] [The Greek Catholic bishops in the Šeptyc'kyj family were: Vasylij Varlaam (1647–1715), bishop of Lviv from 1709; Atanasij Antonij (1686–1746), bishop (1715) and then metropolitan of Kiev from 1729; Atanasij Andrij (d. 1779), bishop of Peremyšl' from 1762; and Lev Ljudovyk (1717–1779), bishop of Lviv from 1749 and metropolitan of Kiev from 1778. The Latin bishop was Hieronim (1700–1773), bishop of Płock from 1759. Hieronim is mentioned by the eighteenth-century Polish memoirist, Jędrzej Kitowicz: *Opis obyczajów za panowania Augusta III* (Warsaw, 1985), pp. 106 and 344.]

[72] "Trudno zrozumieć—pisał w r. 1943—dawne moskalofilstwo dziś minęło". ("Archidiecezjalne Wiadomości").

[73] [1 Cor. 14: 18.]

Była też raz mowa o zmianie kalendarza. Rozeszły się pogłoski, że Rosja zamierza porzucić juliański, by przyjąć gregoriański, lecz jeszcze ulepszony. Chodziło o to, by unici nie pozostali "zacofani"—czy by więc nie było wskazane, by wyprzedzili Rosję? Metropolita zaznaczył, że zmiany kalendarza nie mogliby unici przeprowadzić, bez zezwolenia Stolicy św. i tego się trzymał i później.

Innym razem słyszałam, jak silnie podkreślał, że prawo obsadzania probostwa przez kolatora danej parafii powinno być zniesione, bo jest nadużyciem, wkraczaniem świeckich w kompetencję Kościoła i prawa Biskupów.[74]

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W r. 1902 Leon Szeptycki zaręczył się z moją siostrą. Na zaręczyny zjechała się najbliższa rodzina. Dyspensa, wobec bliskiego pokrewieństwa, była już z Rzymu nadeszła, bo ks. Metropolita był położył nacisk, by się o nią wystarać przed oficjalnymi zaręczynami. Byli obecni Rodzice Leona, Metropolita, któremu towarzyszył brat Grodzki, bazylianin, Aleksander Szeptycki z żoną,[75] Kazimierz, Stanisław ku ogólnemu żalowi nie mógł przyjechać ani na zaręczyny, ani na ślub, stryj Aleksander Szembek z córkami Ellą i Ziutą,[76] które nam były bliskie, jak rodzone siostry i kilka jeszcze osób. Z wielkim zainteresowaniem oglądał za tej bytności Metropolita różne szkice Inki. Oprócz dwóch akwarel w ramach: domu od frontu i od ogrodu i portreciku naszego Ojca w mundurze 1863-go r.,[77] miała kilka bloków ze szkicami, bądź z natury, bądź to obrazów historycznych ("bitwa pod Płowcami")[78] i religijnych ("Ecce Homo", "Zwiastowanie"). To ostatnie o jasnym kolorycie uderzyło Metropolitę: Anioł, przyklękając zwiastował Maryi Wcielenie. "To ładne"—powiedział.

74 [*Kolator*—the custom of the local landlord's patronage of a Uniate parish church survived in Galicia until the Second World War: the landlord had the right of selecting a new parish priest from the list of candidates presented by the episcopal consistory. The institution of *kolator* caused many conflicts between the Greek Catholic Church and the Polish landed aristocracy because the landlords tried to select priests who were Polonophiles or Muscovitophiles.]

75 [Izabela, née Sobańska (1870–1933), daughter of Kazimierz and Maria Potulicki, Polish landlords from central Ukraine. She married Aleksander Szeptycki in 1893.]

76 [Aleksander Szembek (b. 1842), owner of the Słupie estate in Great Poland. His daughters from his marriage to Maria Engeström (1857–1899) were: Helena (1880–1965), later wife of Józef Lossow, and Zofia (1882–1931), later wife of Wacław Niemojowski.]

77 [Piotr Szembek was a participant in the Polish uprising against Russia in the Congress Kingdom in 1863.]

78 [The successful battle against the Knights of the Teutonic Order, fought on 27 September 1331 by Polish troops under the command of Prince Władysław Łokietek.]

Metropolita wyjeżdżał wczesnym pociągiem i Mszę św. odprawił przede dniem. Inka i ja byłyśmy na niej i dla uczczenia Metropolity—mało jeszcze znając liturgię wschodnią—śpiewałyśmy na chórze na 2 głosy: Przy wejściu Metropolity do ołtarza "Mnohaja lita" (potem dopiero dowiedziałyśmy się, że w cerkwi śpiewane jest po nabożeństwie), a w czasie Mszy św. "Światyj Bożе"—niedawno nuty był Ince przywiózł Włodzio Szembek,[79] późniejszy Salezjanin, umęczony przez Niemców—i "Preczystaja Diwo Maty". Metropolita darował Ince i mnie po egzemplarzu swych listów pasterskich w wydaniu książkowym, z dedykacją—nauczyłyśmy się bowiem w Przyłbicach od Kazia czytać po rusku. Tak samo nauczyła się Babcia Zosia, chcąc czytać listy pasterskie Metropolity w oryginale. Pierwsze tłumaczył na język polski jego brat Kazimierz, a Wuj Jan wydawał je ozdobnie—później tego zaniechano.

Liczniejszy był zjazd rodzinny na ślub 15-go października. Metropolita witał się z osobną serdecznością z Wacławem Niemojowskim,[80] swoim kolegą z gimnazjum św. Anny w Krakowie. Ślub dawał Metropolita wobec miejscowego proboszcza. Po różnych naradach ustalono, że, ponieważ Metropolita nie mógł, będąc innego obrządku, mówić formuły według rytu łacińskiego, by ją po nim państwo młodzi powtarzali—trzymał rytuał przed nimi, a oni kolejno tekst przysięgi odczytali.

Trudno sobie wyobrazić uroczystość piękniejszą. Śliczna, jesienna pogoda, szczęście tryskające z twarzy pana młodego, dziewiczy pokój i skupienie na twarzy panny młodej, piękne, polskie stroje pana młodego i uczestników wesela, jedność z ludem, biorącym radośnie udział w święcie dworu, barwny pochód weselny, idący przez ogród do kościoła—na czele jechali na srokatych koniach dwaj parobcy w wielkopolskich strojach—to wszystko było odzwierciedleniem tradycji rodzinnej i narodowej. Metropolita przemówił od ołtarza do państwa młodych, wskazując im "królewską drogę miłości", którą mieli kroczyć ku Bogu.

Aby przy obiedzie uniknąć licznych przemówień, on również miał wznieść jeden tylko toast ku czci państwa młodych. Uczynił to dowcipnie ku ogólnemu rozweseleniu, przedstawiając, jak zasiadłszy, aby przygotować "weselną mowę"—zdrzemnął się i wyśniły mu się toasty, jakie miały być wygłoszone. Więc najpierw ojciec pana młodego wysławia ród panny młodej i jej antenatów, licznych biskupów, zasługi przodków i wznosi

[79] [Włodzimierz Szembek (1883–1942), nephew of the metropolitan of Mahilioŭ, Jerzy. He was a Salesian. He died at Auschwitz- Birkenau, offering his life with the intention of converting the camp commandant Rudolf Hess.]

[80] [Wacław Niemojowski (1864–1939), a Polish landlord, speaker of the Provisional Council of State of the Congress Kingdom (1917), monarchist activist in Poland during the interwar period; son of Kazimierz and Wanda (see fn. 42).]

zdrowie rodziny Szembeków. Odpowiada stryj panny młodej, podnosząc przeszłość rodziny Szeptyckich, ale tego już nie wypada jemu, Metropolicie powtarzać. Następują inne toasty, których treści mówca podaje, w końcu "p. Zdzisław Skrzyński[81] wznosi... swoje własne zdrowie",[82] poczym Matka panny młodej wstaje, by wznieść toast: "Kochajmy się. . .byle nie z Prusakami". Nastąpiło zakończenie: "Zdrowie państwa młodych!"

Jako podarek ślubny dał Metropolita Leosiom śliczny srebrny tryptyk, w bogatym obramowaniu wizerunki i relikwie św. Jozafata, św. Leona i św. Jadwigi.

Wśród zaproszonych na ślub był Biskup płocki, Jerzy Szembek,[83] dalszy nasz stryj, ale w ostatniej chwili coś mu stanęło na przeszkodzie. Był to wielki przyjaciel Metropolity—łączyło ich pragnienie nawrócenia Rosji. Obaj byli miłośnikami liturgii. Biskup Szembek zreformował śpiew kościelny w swojej diecezji, a po "Motu proprio" Piusa X[84] o śpiewie gregoriańskim, pierwszy wprowadził tenże śpiew—już jako Arcybiskup mohylowski—w archidiecezji. Metropolita Szeptycki studiował z zamiłowaniem najdawniejszą liturgię wschodnią i wpływy greckie na liturgię Kościoła rzymskiego. Zanim prof. Birkenmajer napisał rozprawę o pieśni Bogarodzica—Metropolita mówił już kiedyś o greckiej modlitwie, z której treść zaczerpnięta.[85] Słyszałam, jak mówił, po śmierci Arcybiskupa Szembeka, że jest to strata niepowetowana dla Kościoła w Polsce. Na pogrzebie jego w Porębie przemawiał, żegnając go jako przyjaciela.

* * *

Od ślubu Leosiów, moja Matka, mój brat i ja spędzaliśmy stale święta Bożego Narodzenia w Przyłbicach, jak dwukrotnie dawniej. Metropolita

[81] [Zdzisław Skrzyński (b. 1846), a Galician landlord, deputy to the Land Diet, cousin of the Fredros and Szeptyckis, father of Władysław, who became the Polish ambassador to the Vatican.]

[82] Wuj Zdzisław Skrzyński z Bachórza nie ukrywał swej niechęci ku Rusinom i stanowisku Metropolity, dlatego ten odciął się tak lekko kuzynowi.

[83] [Jerzy Szembek (1851–1905), bishop of Płock from 1901, metropolitan of Mahilioŭ from 1903.]

[84] [Pius X, Giuseppe Sarto (1835–1914), pope from 1903, canonized in 1954. The *Motu proprio* on the Gregorian chant was issued in 1903.]

[85] [See Józef Birkenmajer, *Bogurodzica Dziewica* (Lviv, 1938). "Bogurodzica" (Mother of God) is the oldest Polish religious song, with language preserving traces of Old Church Slavonic. This is considered one proof of a link with the liturgical circle influenced by Greek Byzantine culture, and is also confirmed by the phraseology and dogmatic content of the song. Józef Birkenmajer (1897–1939) was a poet, historian of literature, translator, and lecturer at the University of Wisconsin and the Catholic University of Lublin.]

przyjeżdżał na nie z O[jcem] Demczukiem[86] —który był i na ślubie w Siemianicach—lub z innym bazylianinem. O ile wypadał wówczas jakiś post zakonny, Metropolita dawał znak towarzyszowi i udzielał mu dyspensy. Niekiedy przyjeżdżali do Przyłbic inni Rusini; raz był jakiś Białorusin,—nazwiska zapomniałam—który pokazywał sygnet kościuszkowski otrzymany przez przodka w czasie powstania 1794 r.[87] Metropolita pragnął przez te przyjazdy zbliżać Rusinów do Polaków, zapoznając pierwszych z kulturą polską w domu rodzinnym. Kilkakrotnie jeździł na czele pielgrzymek do Rzymu—w jednej wzięli częściowo udział Leosiowie—raz do Ziemi św. Wrażenia z tych miejsc świętych, "po których chodził Pan Jezus" opisał w liście pasterskim.[88] Miał w tej ostatniej wziąć udział Andrzej Skrzyński, syn Wuja Seweryna Skrzyńskiego z Nozdrzca,[89] tak bardzo kochającego rodzinę Szeptyckich. Andruś cieszył się na podróż, była to bowiem dla niego jedyna sposobność. Jednak w ostatniej chwili, Wuj go wycofał, ze względu na opinię polską. "Polak. . .w pielgrzymce ruskiej. . .", co pokazuje, jak w rzeczywistości Polacy w Małopolsce nie dopuszczali do zbliżenia z Rusinami.

Na ślub Maryjki Skrzyńskiej z Bronisławem Kosielskim, w Nozdrzcu—roku nie pamiętam[90] —nadszedł list Metropolity. Odczytał go przed posiłkiem Wuj Seweryn razem z kilku telegramami—słuchano stojąco. Życzenia były bardzo serdeczne, podkreślały potrzebę łaski nie tylko na chwile szczęścia, lecz i na trudniejsze w życiu, bo "obok róż bywają ciernie."

Wracając z różnych podróży do Rzymu, kilkakrotnie przywoził Metropolita relikwie, które powierzał Ince, aby je umieszczała w relikwiarzykach (raz w tym uczestniczyłam). Czyniło się to z wielkim nabożeństwem, przy dwóch zapalonych świecach—po wsunięciu relikwii do relikwiarza, opieczętowywało się je sygnetem arcybiskupim.

[86] [Pavlo Demčuk, a Basilian.]

[87] [The Polish uprising (March–November 1794) led by Tadeusz Kościuszko as a protest against the second partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth by Russia and Prussia in 1793.]

[88] [In fact, Šeptyc'kyj was in the Holy Land twice, first in August 1905 with Father Lazar Berezovs'kyj, OSBM, with a pilgrimage from Tyrol, and then from 5 to 28 September 1906 with a Ukrainian pilgrimage. After the first pilgrimage, he issued the pastoral epistle, "Mynuvšoho roku v serpni" (22 April 1906), and after the second one, "Vdjačnist' žljadom Isusa Xrysta" (9 or 23 October 1906).]

[89] [Seweryn Skrzyński (1847–after 1906), a Galician landlord, father of Andrzej (b. 1885) and Maria Kosielska (b. 1883).]

[90] [22 September 1906.]

W styczniu—zdaje mi się 1903 r. Metropolita zachorował ciężko we Lwowie.[91] Skutkiem misji i często wygłaszanych kazań, miał rozedmę płuc, "chorobę misjonarzy", jak mówił—teraz przyszło zapalenie płuc. Postanowiono zataić to na razie przed Matką ze względu na jej zdrowie, stale "wiszące na włosku".[92] Lecz Babcia intuicyjnie odczuła, że coś przed nią, w związku z Metropolitą ukrywają i skorzystała z chwili samotności, aby przejrzeć gazety, starannie od niej odsuwane. Dowiedziała się z nich, że stan Metropolity jest groźny. "Już wszystko wiem", powiedziała. Nie mogła wówczas do niego pojechać, lecz napisała, aby wiedział, że duchem jest z nim. Niebawem choroba się przesiliła, niebezpieczeństwo minęło. W czasie rekonwalescencji, Kazio, który go pielęgnował, czytywał mu jeden z dramatów Shakespear'a i Trylogię Sienkiewicza,[93] którą chciał sobie przypomnieć. Wuj Jan dojeżdżał do Lwowa często. Później pojechała Babcia. Z tego to czasu pozostała fotografia amatorska: Metropolita siedzi na fotelu w sali pałacu św. Jura, za nim stoi Babcia, zapatrzona w dal, z wyrazem zamyślenia. Czy przeczuwała, jak trudnym będzie, z biegiem lat, położenie syna? Nie mówiła o tym, w rozmowach o "polityce" nie brała udziału nigdy, ale przypominam sobie, jak ją raz zabolał list zaprzyjaźnionej z nią z lat dawnych Jadwigi Rozwadowskiej,[94] która składała jej wyrazy współczucia w sprawie Metropolity, jako Arcybiskupa ruskiego. "Odpisałam jej—powiedziała—że Pasterz musi stać przy swoich owcach". Gdy Metropolita powrócił zupełnie do zdrowia, żartował z Ludwikiem Dębickim z Jaworowa,[95] sąsiadem Przyłbic, że musiał z pewnością wycofać z redakcji "Gazety Narodowej"[96] swój artykuł pośmiertny o nim, Metropolicie, i schować na przyszłość.

Latem, odbył się w Przyłbicach wiec ruski "Ukraińców". Musiał mieć zabarwienie bardzo nacjonalistyczne, może antypolskie. Doszło to do Babci i doszło, że brał w nim udział, a przynajmniej był na nim obecny—ks. Maksymowicz. Był to młody kapłan, gorąco kochający Metropolitę, gorliwy i pełen ducha apostolskiego. Babcia prosiła, by do niej przyszedł i miała z nim w cztery oczy poważną rozmowę, w której wykazała mu, że

91 [The metropolitan's illness lasted from December 1902 to March 1903.]

92 Babcia zaraziła się była przed laty gruźlicą od kobiety wiejskiej, którą pielęgnowała.

93 [Henryk Sienkiewicz (1846–1916), author of the *Trilogy*, the famous novel based on the history of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during the seventeenth century; its three parts are: *With Fire and Sword, The Flood,* and *Mr. Wołodyjowski.*]

94 [Jadwiga Rozwadowska, daughter of Władysław, related to Zofia Szeptycka through Ludwika Fredro-Rozwadowska, Jadwiga's grandmother; owner of estates in Eastern Galicia; and composer and pianist using the pseudonym Renée de Addi.]

95 [Ludwik-Zygmunt Dębicki (1843–1908), writer, journalist, essayist, editor of the Cracow conservative daily, *Czas.*]

96 [*Gazeta Narodowa*, a conservative organ which appeared in Lviv in 1862–1915.]

powinien wystrzegać się podburzającej polityki, bo miłość powinna łączyć oba narody—jak dawniej. Niestety, stosunki "z dawnych czasów" już się nie dały utrzymać, ani wskrzesić, ale ks. Maksymowiczowi łzy przyszły do oczu, gdy słuchał i zrozumiał, że zadaniem kapłana jest szerzenie miłości, nie zaś nienawiści. Gdy nam Babcia o tym mówiła, dodała: "Jedyną polityką, jakąbym rozumiała, to wspólne procesje Polaków i Rusinów, aby uprosić wzajemną miłość."

Metropolita zdawał sobie sprawę z niskiego poziomu duchowieństwa unickiego i robił, co mógł, aby go podnieść. Nie chciał narzucać celibatu w seminariach, jak to uczynił później biskup stanisławowski Chomyszyn,[97] co jednak wywołało jakiś bunt młodzieży i protest, powołujący się na Unię Brzeską ogromnej ilości kapłanów, wysłany do Stolicy św. Metropolita dążył do tego, aby klerycy sami życia w bezżeństwie zapragnęli. Część z nich za tym poszła. Opowiadał Metropolita Babci, po rekolekcjach, jakie dawał we Lwowie, przed wyświęceniem kleryków, że kilku z nich cofnęło się i opuścili seminarium i że to uważa za dobry rezultat rekolekcji, bo "zrozumieli wagę kapłaństwa."

Kiedyś też wspominała Babcia, że Metropolita jeszcze przed wyświęceniem na biskupa zetknął się w czasie misji z kilku chłopami, którzy w swojej wsi wiedli niemal zakonne życie, poświęcone pracy, aby móc żyć i modlitwie, do której czuli wyraźne wezwanie Boże. Pomyślał wówczas, jakby to było dobrze, gdyby powstało Zgromadzenie męskie, na wzór żeńskich Służebniczek,[98] którego członkowie pracowaliby najemnie lub np. jako kowale—a mogliby mieć we wsi wielki wpływ.[99]

Innym razem, gdy spowiadał więźniów, przekonał się w rozmowie, że jeden z nich tak żałuje dawnej winy i takie ma zrozumienie życia, jakie wieść powinien, że napisał do władz petycję, aby był uwolniony—z jakim skutkiem, nie wiedział.

Byłam w Przyłbicach w czasie conclave po śmierci Leona XIII,[100] razem z kardynałami "wybieraliśmy" Papieża, według fotografii i krótkich danych, zamieszczonych w jakimś piśmie. Tymczasem nadszedł list Metropolity do Babci, zaczynający się od słów: "Annunzio vobis gaudium magnum—habemus Papam"—i wyrażający wielką radość, że nim jest kardynał Sarto—Pius X.

97 [Hryhorij Xomyšyn (1867–1945), Greek Catholic bishop of Stanyslaviv from 1921.]

98 [Greek Catholic female monastic congregation established in 1892 by the Reverend I. Dol'nyc'kyj and K. Sile'ckyj for philanthropic and educational work.]

99 [The Studite order established by the metropolitan in 1902–1903.]

100 [20 July 1903.]

Wkrótce potem Metropolita przyjechał na jeden czy dwa dni. Babcię wożono wózkiem do ogrodu, gdzie Tomasz Lisiewicz zaczął malować jej portret. W okresie świąt Bożego Narodzenia Babcia dużo leżała. W pierwszych dniach stycznia 1904 r. otrzymała od Boga wielkie łaski, które nam wyjawiła przed śmiercią, a ks. Metropolicie wcześniej. W Ożomli, u Franciszków Czosnowskich[101] odbywało się kilkudniowe polowanie, na które wszyscy jeździli. Gdy Babcia o zmierzchu modliła się w samotności, ukazała się jej kilkakrotnie Matka Boska i Dzieciątko Jezus złożyła jej na ręku. Nikt z nas nie zdawał sobie sprawy, widząc Babcię tak cichą i spokojną, a zawsze promienną i uduchowioną, "jak blisko był Pan"... Lubiła Babcia, by przy niej cicho śpiewać kolędy, szczególnie "Jezus malusieńki" i "Lulaj że", czasem półgłosem jedną zwrotkę nuciła.

W marcu moja Matka i ja pojechałyśmy znów do Przyłbic, Mama na krótko, bo się spieszyła do Lwowa, do Inki, która oczekiwała przyjścia na świat dziecka—Zosi[102] —, ja miałam ją trochę przy Babci zastąpić; stan jej bardzo się był pogorszył. Nazajutrz po naszym przyjeździe i radosnym powitaniu—zbudzono nas nad ranem: Babcia konała. Żadnego z synów nie było w domu, Wuj wysłał natychmiast posłańca do Lwowa—przyszedł ksiądz z Wiatykiem—dr. Orski[103] dawał zastrzyk kamfory za zastrzykiem, aby tylko przedłużyć to drogie życie do przybycia synów. Wtedy to, żegnając się z nami, poleciła nam Babcia dziękować Bogu za łaski, które od niego otrzymała. Widzę jeszcze jej wzrok, słyszę głos, gdy mówiła o tym Dzieciątku Jezus, złożonym na jej ręku, "a Ono tak się śmiało, tak wesoło rechotało"—i poleciła wszystko powtórzyć synom, gdyby się ich nie doczekała. Błogosławiła każdemu z osobna, i Izi i Ince i dzieciom Olesia—na fotografii Stasia, który był na froncie rosyjsko-japońskim,[104] jako attaché austriacki, zrobiła atramentem krzyż—i wypowidziała te słowa, które stały się testamentem dla wszystkich pokoleń: "Jestem Chrystusowa...bądźcie wszyscy Chrystusowi..."

Trzej synowie ze Lwowa przyjechali wieczorem—Oleś z Łaszczowa końmi dwa dni później. Gdy Metropolita wszedł, rozjaśniła się twarz Babci—nachylił się nad nią. "Miałam straszne pokusy"—szepnęła i dalej cicho mówiła—po chwili Metropolita powiedział: "To wszystko łaski, Mamo, to wszystko łaski..." Rozmawiali dalej. Nad ranem, zaledwo dnieć

[101] [Franciszek Kolumna Czownowski, hereditary landlord of Ožomlja. His wife Maria, née Princess Puzyna (b. 1868), was a neighbor and friend of Zofia Szeptycka.]

[102] [Zofia Szeptycka (1904–1958), from 1930 in the Order of the Franciscan Sisters, Missionaries of Mary, taking the name Sister Maria Jozafata.]

[103] [Jan Orski (1865–after 1927), physician practicing in Javoriv, the town closest to Prylbyči.]

[104] [The Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905.]

zaczęło, Metropolita odprawił Mszę św. w salonie. Przejmująca była chwila, gdy z kielichem w ręku podszedł do umierającej Matki, by jej udzielić Komunię św.

Stan chorej polepszył się chwilowo. Metropolita i Leoś musieli powrócić do Lwowa, skąd często dojeżdżali. Metropolita spowiadał jeszcze Matkę, siedząc przy niej odmawiał półgłosem, jak inni synowie—różaniec, słuchał z nią razem, gdyśmy—Służebniczki i ja—w dalszym pokoju śpiewały "Gorzkie żale", o które Babcia prosiła. Gdy po raz ostatni przyjechał, już nie mówiła—spojrzała tylko na niego; byliśmy wszyscy obecni, bo i Matka moja i Izia z Łaszczowa[105] —gdy wśród modlitw naszych dusza jej cicho przeszła do Boga. A przez tych kilka tygodni, w których powoli gasła, tyle nam jeszcze dawała z tej miłości Bożej, jaką żyła. Kiedyś dawniej, powiedziała mi Babcia: "Każdy człowiek niesie przed sobą latarkę, z której płynie światło. Od niego zależy ilość światła. Jeśli szkło jest zakopcone, ledwo promyczek się przeciśnie—jeśli czyste, jasna smuga oświeci drogę jemu i drugim". Jakże przezroczyste do końca życia było szkło Twojej, Babciu, latarki!

Gdyśmy w kilka godzin po śmierci, szli do kaplicy grobowej, na pół drogi do Bruchnala, by zobaczyć miejsce, w którym trumna miała być złożona, rzekł Metropolita: "Po takiej śmierci można tylko powiedzieć: Alleluja!"

Z Leosiem pojechałam do Lwowa, do Inki. "Wszystko skończone, Inko"—powiedział Leoś. Już wracając do Przyłbic nie miałam ujrzeć tej Ukochanej, która tak często wybiegała myślą do niej i mogła jeszcze małej Zosi z daleka błogosławić—a przeze mnie ostatnie zlecenie Ince przesłać. Wracałam na pogrzeb z moim bratem i z tegoż pociągu wysiadł Metropolita. Jechaliśmy w milczeniu. Trumna na wysokim katafalku w salonie obitym kirem—była jeszcze otwarta. Śliczna twarz Zmarłej wyrażała pokój. Przed zamknięciem trumny, Oleś Szeptycki zauważył, że palce u rąk Babci były zupełnie giętkie. Eksportacja odbyła się do Bruchnala.

Szczegółów pogrzebu nie pamiętam, tak się wszystko przesuwało nie utrwalając w głowie, pamiętam tylko, że Msze św. kardynała Puzyny,[106] biskupa Pelczara,[107] duchowieństwa łacińskiego i ruskiego odbywały się jedna po drugiej w kościele bruchnalskim, że śpiewy kleryków polskich z Przemyśla i ruskich ze Lwowa były przejmujące. A potem widzę, jak w kaplicy grobowej, przed spuszczeniem trumny do miejsca wiecznego spo-

[105] [Izabella Szeptycka, wife of Aleksander, the metropolitan's brother.]

[106] [Jan Duklan Puzyna (1842–1911), bishop of Cracow in 1894, cardinal in 1901.]

[107] [Józef Sebastian Pelczar (1842–1924), the Latin bishop of Peremyšl' (Przemyśl) in 1900; beatified in 1991.]

czynku, klęczy przy niej Metropolita i ręką ją obejmuje. Jak przed laty Matka oddała Bogu w ofierze ukochanego syna, tak on oddawał Mu duszę umiłowanej Matki.

Stosunku między nimi nie da się opisać. Jeden moment, który się nieraz powtarzał, jest jego streszczeniem. Matka Andrzejowej Fredrowej, Melania Szczepańska,[108] opowiadała kiedyś, jakie wrażenie zrobiło na niej pożegnanie, którego przypadkowo była świadkiem—Matki z synem na jakiejś stacji. Babcia stała w otwartym oknie wagonu i gdy pociąg ruszył, znak krzyża zakreśliła nad O[jcem] Andrzejem—on wówczas podniósł rękę i takiż krzyż zakreślił ku odjeżdżającej Matce.

Zostały mi w pamięci niektóre zdania, wypowiedziane przez Babcię o Metropolicie: "Otworzyłam kiedyś, gdy przyjechał jego walizkę, chcąc coś do niej wsunąć i zobaczyłam dyscyplinę, więc nawet, gdy gdzieś jedzie, biczuje się. . ."

". . . O[jciec] Jackowski[109] (jezuita, przyjaciel rodziny) powiedział mi: 'Modlę się o reformę kleru ruskiego', a więc nie widzi jeszcze, by praca Metropolity wydała owoce".

". . . Gdy wchodziłam do salonu w pałacu św. Jura, Metropolita rozmawiał przy stole z O[jcem] Albertem (Chmielowskim).[110] Patrzałam na te dwie głowy zwrócone ku sobie i byłabym miała ochotę je odmalować: takie odrębne, a ożywione jednym uczuciem: miłością Bożą. . ."

". . . Gdy Leoś zwierzył się Metropolicie, że się oświadczył Ince i czeka na jej odpowiedź, Metropolita mi powiedział: 'Leoś sam sobie nie zdaje sprawy, do jakiego stopnia Inkę kocha. . .' "

Teraz skończyła się karta w dziejach przyłbickich—w życiu Metropolity i każdego z braci. Od Stasia nadszedł niebawem telegram z Dalekiego Wschodu: "Je joins mes larmes et mes prières aux votres". Wuj Jan przestał odrywać kartki kalendarza, który stał na jego biurku—pozostała niezmiennie data 17-o kwietnia 1904.

* * *

W ciągu 5-ciu lat, które dzieliły śmierć Babci od mojego wstąpienia do klasztoru, widywałam często ks. Metropolitę w Przyłbicach, bądź w czasie Świąt Bożego Narodzenia, bądź czasem w lecie. Przyłbice zachowały

[108] [Melania Szczepańska, née Serwatowska (1842–1924), wife of Aleksander, mother of Felicja Fredro.]

[109] [Henryk Jackowski (1843–1905), a Jesuit, publisher, and translator, provincial of Galicia (1881–1887). Leader of the reform of the Basilian order, he played a great role in the formation of Roman Šeptyc'kyj's priestly vocation.]

[110] [Albert (Adam) Chmielowski (1846–1916), painter, participant in the Polish uprising against Russia in 1863, founder of the Albertine Congregation, canonized in 1983.]

swoją dawną atmosferę—było to zasługą Leosia i Inki, którym Babcia zwierzyła dom i jego tradycję. Wuj otoczony był miłością. Dom, w dalszym ciągu był ogniskiem, ściągającym, jak dawniej braci Leosia i nas z Siemianic. Gdy po raz pierwszy wyznałam przy spowiedzi Metropolicie moje pragnienie wstąpienia do klasztoru, odrzekł, że to wymaga głębszego zastanowienia, bo i na świecie można się zbawić. Później, gdy do tego zawróciłam, powiedział, że od pierwszej chwili nie wątpił o moim powołaniu, ale nie chciał najmniejszego na mnie wpływu wywierać.

Każdy przyjazd Metropolity do Przyłbic z równą był witany radością nie tylko rodziny, ale i domowników: Olgi, wychowawczyni dzieci Leosiów[111] (córki rządcy Rakowa, Heynowskiego, u mych Rodziców), Finusi, Antoniego, Rusiaka—kucharza, wszystkich. Dzieci Leosiów, które chrzcił—kochał bardzo. Zosia, Jaś i Siula,[112] moja chrześniaczka, to była starsza trójka, którą żegnałam w 1909 r. za mej ostatniej bytności w Przyłbicach. Metropolita wymalował raz olejny obrazek z natury (wisiał później w salonie przyłbickim): Zosia bawi się na trawniku z Janową, nianią. Dzieci nie były onieśmielone "Stryjciem-Metropolitą", jak go nazywały, rozmawiał z nimi; kiedyś, po śniadaniu, które podawano latem na werandzie, Siula wygramoliła się na jego kolana i bawiła się jego biskupim krzyżem. W lecie miewał Mszę św. w kaplicy grobowej, nie lubił, by stawiano zbyt dużo kwiatów na ołtarzu, raz usunął dwie doniczki. Kładł nacisk na świętość ołtarza, zaznaczając, że nie wolno na nim nic kłaść—nawet chwilowo—poza przyborami do nabożeństwa. Konfesjonał stał na dworze—spowiadał się raz prócz nas ks. Maksymowicz. Zosia i Jaś siedzieli w kaplicy przy Oldze, Zosia modliła się bardzo grzecznie, Jaś wciąż o coś pytał głośnym szeptem, bo mu się dłużyło. Raz spędził Metropolita w Przyłbicach prawie tydzień; po Mszy św. i śniadaniu jeździł do Jaworowa, gdzie odbywał wizytację w klasztorze sióstr bazyljanek—wracał pod wieczór. Interesował się zawsze malarstwem: Inka malowała "Drogę Krzyżową" zaczętą przez Babcię do kościoła w Bruchnalu, a do cerkwi przyłbickiej: proroków, św. Jozafata i św. Andrzeja Bobolę[113] —tych dwóch ostatnich już nie widziałam.

W r. 1907—7-go czerwca odbył się w Bilczu Złotym ślub Stanisława Szeptyckiego z Marią Sapieżanką. Jak ongiś Leosiom, dawał go i teraz Metropolita. Zauważyłam wówczas, jak musi się z wszystkim liczyć. Ślub

[111] [Olga Frydrychowa.]

[112] [Jan Leon Szeptycki (1905–1980) (see the introduction above) and Marianna Szeptycka (1907–1922.]

[113] [Andrzej Bobola (ca. 1591–1657), Polish Jesuit and preacher martyred by the Cossacks; beatified in 1853 and canonized in 1938.]

odbywał się w kaplicy w ogrodzie, tylko goście mogli się w niej pomieścić, tłumy ludu stały na zewnątrz. Metropolita, który w Siemianicach przemawiał swobodnie, głosem dobitnym—teraz mówił do państwa młodych tak cicho, jakby się lękał, by się jakieś słowo na zewnątrz nie przedostało. Dawał im za przykład ojca panny młodej, ks[ięcia] Leona, którego zwłoki spoczywały pod kaplicą. Możeby się lud ruski zdziwił, słysząc swego Władykę, mówiącego od ołtarza po polsku? Może w niejedno serce zakradłaby się znów nieufność? Wieczorem, w czasie ogólnej zabawy, część starszych panów prowadziła dyskusję w sprawach polsko-ruskich. Sapiehowie—niektórzy—byli zawsze obrońcami Rusinów i mieli wielkie uznanie dla ks. Metropolity i jego działalności, lecz stanowisko ich wśród ogółu Polaków małopolskich było pod tym względem wyjątkowe. Podobno była ostra wymiana zdań.

Na zarzuty i napaści w różnych pismach, szczególnie narodowej demokracji Metropolita nigdy nie odpowiadał. A korzystano z każdej sposobności, by wystąpić przeciw niemu. Wystarczy tu podać dwa przykłady: Gdy wywrotowcy ukraińscy zaczęli pewnej jesieni podpalać stogi zboża w majątkach Polaków—ukazał się artykuł, zrzucający winę na Metropolitę. Gdy przyjechali do Lwowa archimandryci schizmatyccy z Moskwy—piętnowano z oburzeniem, że Metropolita okadzał ich w czasie uroczystego nabożeństwa w katedrze św. Jura. Rzeczywiście okadzał tego dnia—jak przepisywała liturgia—wiernych, nie wiedząc jeszcze nawet, że archimandryci stali wśród nich, przypatrując się nabożeństwu. Nie tylko jednak nigdy nie polemizował, ale nie występował w rozmowie z oburzeniem ani niechęcia przeciw napastnikom. Raz przyłączył się do jakiejś delegacji ruskiej, jadącej do Wiednia.[114] Oburzano się. Ktoś—zdaje się Wuj Jan—wspomniał o tym w Przyłbicach. Nie pamiętam, o co chodziło, ale pamiętam jego, Metropolity, odpowiedź: "Polacy dopiero za sto lat zrozumieją, dlaczego pojechałem".

Zapytałam raz Metropolitę, czy uważa się za Polaka, czy za Rusina? W polskich strojach on i brat jego Aleksander prowadzili Rodziców do ołtarza w dniu 25-o lecia ich ślubu—a z drugiej strony na uniwersytecie wrocławskim podpisał się kiedyś: Ruthenus. "Kocham Polskę—odpowiedział—dzieje Polski, literaturę polską, ale mowa ludu, wśród którego wzrosłem, stała się moją mową, pieśń jego stała się moją pieśnią. Jestem trochę, jak św. Paweł, który był "żydom, jako żyd, a Grekom, jako

[114] [Probably the delegation that went to Emperor Francis Joseph on 21 January 1906 regarding a Ukrainian university in Lviv.]

Grek, wszystkim stał się wszystkim, aby wszystkich zbawił".[115] Po ślubie Leosiów, Matka moja lękała się, by ich dzieci nie zapatrzyły się na Metropolitę i nie poczuły się Rusinami. Mówiła z nim o tym kiedyś. Uspokoił ją. "Tyle jest rodzin"—powiedział—"których członkowie czują się jedni Polakami, drudzy Rusinami. I my jesteśmy polsko-ruską rodziną i uczymy przykładem, jak żyć w jedności i miłości". Tak było za dawnych czasów. Barlaam Szeptycki,[116] Władyka lwowski, błogosławił wojsku polskiemu, idącemu na wojnę, jenerał Wincenty Szeptycki,[117] Polak-łacinnik, walczył pod Napoleonem. Bazylianie zachęcali do powstania listopadowego, Rusini walczyli ramię w ramię z Polakami w powstaniu styczniowym przeciw wspólnemu wrogowi[118] —to wszystko było proste, gdy była jedność i wspólność ideałów. Dziś, przynależność do dwóch walczacych ze sobą obozów wytwarzała komplikacje i trudności nie do rozwiązania. Dlatego Kazio ustąpił z parlamentu wiedeńskiego, gdy narodowa demokracja przeważyła w "Kole Polskim". "Nie mogę—powiedział—być pionkiem Głębińskiego".[119]

Metropolita zatwierdził mój zamiar wstąpienie do Niepokalanek. Doniosłam mu o nim listownie, teraz powitał mnie słowami: "A więc wstępujesz do Niepokalanek?" lecz polecił, bym poznała lepiej Zgromadzenie i odbyła rekolekcje w jednym z jego klasztorów po rozmówieniu się z moją Matką. Obrałam Jarosław,[120] dokąd mnie odwiozła w odpowiednim czasie moja siostra. Metropolita wspomniał, że od wychowanek jazłowieckich wie, ile zawdzięczają Matce Marcelinie Darowskiej,[121] Założycielce, "o bardzo silnej indywidualności". Jedną z tych wychowanek, tak bardzo oddanych Zgromadzeniu a równocześnie ks. Metropolicie i ludowi ruskiemu, była krewna nasza, Maryńcia z

[115] [1 Cor. 9:20–22.]

[116] [See fn. 63.]

[117] [Wincenty Leon Szeptycki (1782–1836), participant in the Napoleonic Wars and in the Polish uprising against Russia in 1830/1831.]

[118] [Polish uprisings against Russia: the November Uprising of 1830/1831 and the January Uprising of 1863.]

[119] [Stanisław Głębiński (1862–1943), a right- wing Polish politician, chairman on the Polish Caucus in the Austrian Council of State in 1907–1911, and minister of railroads in Austria in 1911.]

[120] [The convent of the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception at Jarosław in Eastern Galicia was founded by M. Darowska during 1873–1875. The convent was active in supporting the Uniates of the Xolm (Chełm) region.]

[121] [Marcelina Weryha-Darowska, née Kotowicz (1827–1911), co-founder of the Congregation of Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Most Holy Virgin Mary whose first home was established in 1863 at Jazlivec', near Bučač in Galicia.]

Dembińskich Mycielska.[122] Jeszcze w ostatnim liście z Nienadowej do mnie, 25.XII.1943, dopytując się o Stasiów w Korczynie, Hanię, Izię i Jasia,[123] dodaje: "Pragnęłabym też bardzo wiedzieć, jakie są wiadomości ze Lwowa od Kazia i jego Brata. . . . "

Ona to, Maryńcia, mówiła kiedyś mej siostrze o Niepokalankach i ich ślicznym zadaniu wychowawczym—i tą drogą mnie Pan Bóg do nich doprowadził. Metropolita podtrzymywał mnie listami w powołaniu, błogosławił na chwilę, gdy wypowiem mój zamiar mojej Matce—"Jak muszla otwiera się do słońca—pisał w jednym z listów—otwieraj duszę twą przed Bogiem". Przed moim wyjazdem z Siemianic przyjechał mnie pożegnać—rozmawiałam z nim wówczas dużo o życiu zakonnym—niektóre jego słowa utkwiły mi w pamięci:

"Nie należy się lękać pokus przeciw powołaniu. Zdarzało się nieraz u nas, bazylianów, że kiedy nowicjusza zaczynała ogarniać myśl opuszczenia klasztoru i chciał się poradzić mistrza nowicjatu, gdy wchodził do jego celi, pokusa znikała".

"Pokora musi być fundamentem życia zakonnego, trzeba kochać upokorzenia, bo one prowadzą do pokory"—i tu rozwinął różne stopnie pokory, kończąc: "Największą łaską dla zakonnicy jest po ludzku być nieużyteczną—być mianą za nieużyteczną i uważać się za nieużyteczną".

"Możesz mieć nieznośną mistrzynię nowicjatu, należy się jej takie same posłuszeństwo, jak gdyby była bardzo świątobliwa".

"Prawie wszystkie Zgromadzenia są dziś tak ubogie, że oddawanie im posagu nie sprzeciwia się słowom P. Jezusa: 'sprzedaj co masz i rozdaj ubogim—a idź za mną'. To daje klasztorom możliwość wspomagania w różnej formie ubogich".

"Nie należy sobie wyrzucać, jeśli wstąpienie do klasztoru połączone jest z cierpieniem bliskich. Ono dla nich z woli Bożej. A cierpienie, nawet mimowolne, szlifuje duszę i zbliża ją do Boga".

Wspominał też Metropolita o nabożeństwie do Anioła Stróża i o jego pomocy. "Kiedyś na misjach, w górach, jechałem wózkiem. Nagle usłyszałem ostrzeżenie Anioła Stróża: 'Uważaj'... W tej chwili spostrzegłem, że nie mam woreczka z pieniędzmi. Zatrzymałem wózek,

[122] [Maria Mycielska, née Dębińska (1871–1946), daughter of Antoni and Ludwika, née Borkowska, and wife of Stanisław (1864–1933), deputy to the Galician Diet.]

[123] [The metropolitan's brother, Stanisław, and his second wife, Stanisława Olizar (1899–1977), owners of Korczyna near Krosno; and Leon Szeptycki's children: Anna (b. 1914), historian and librarian, now living in Poznań; Elżbieta (b. 1923), now Weyman, doctor of medicine, residing in Toruń; and Jan Leon (see the introduction above).]

zsiadłem i zacząłem iść przebytą drogą—po chwili znalazłem leżący na ziemi woreczek".

* * *

W tych latach Metropolita otrzymał od Ojca św. Piusa X[124] upoważnienie i błogosławieństwo na działalność apostolsko-misyjną wśród ludności prawosławnej pod zaborem rosyjskim i w Rosji. Działalność musiała z konieczności być tajna. Wybrał się po raz pierwszy w r. 1908 w przebraniu kupca za odpowiednim paszportem. Byłby chętnie wstąpił do brata swego Aleksandra w Łaszczowie, więc przejechawszy granicę, napisał do niego: "Jestem tu w sprawie Józefa Sar. Czy mógłbym wstapić do Pana, aby las obejrzeć?" Coby to była za radość dla Olesia i jego rodziny! Lecz roztropność przeważyła. Postawa kupca byłaby mogła zwrócić uwagę domowników, najmniejsza niedyskrecja zaprzepaścić wszystko, więc Oleś odpisał: "Niestety, drogi są teraz tak złe i błotniste, że proszę przyjazd odłożyć". Zajechał natomiast Metropolita do Aleksandra Jelskiego,[125] którego ojciec był przyjacielem Aleksandra Fredry, a dawna tradycja łączyła z unitami. Ten wzruszył się na widok Metropolity: "wnuk Aleksandra Fredry, Arcybiskup Szeptycki u mnie!" zawołał i prosił go na odjezdnem o zostawienie mu swej laski na pamiatką, co Metropolita uczynił.

Nawrócenie Rosji, podjęcie pracy św. Jozafata—to było marzeniem i najgorętszym pragnieniem Metropolity od lat młodzieńczych. Niejedno z jego posunięć podyktowane było tą myślą. Stąd powrót do dawnych form liturgii—przy ofiarowaniu podnosił velum, lekko nim potrząsając, na znak lęku przed majestatem Bożym—nie pozwalał na rozcięcie ornatu z przodu dla wygody przy podnoszeniu rąk. Z tej też przyczyny zapuścił później brodę, za pozwoleniem Stolicy św., jak to było w zwyczaju przed synodem Zamojskim (1720 r.).[126] Chodziło mu o to, by prawosławni odnajdowali wśród greko-katolików dawne, wspólne formy z pierwszych 10-ciu wieków, z których oni niektóre zachowali, by nie mieli lęku przed latynizacją. O. Guepin, benedyktyn, autor życiorysu św. Jozafata[127] uważa tę

[124] [In January 1907 Pius X granted Metropolitan Šeptyc'kyj special powers to work in the Greek Catholic rite in Russia, on the basis of his rights as bishop of Kam"janec'-Podil's'kyj. These powers were revoked by Benedict XV after the First World War.]

[125] [Aleksander Jelski (1834–1916), landlord, philanthropist, and ethnographer; owner of the Dudzičy estate in Belorussia. He translated Polish poetry into Belorussian.]

[126] [The synod of the Uniate Church in Zamošč in 1720, which led to the Latinization of ritual and organization of this church.]

[127] [A. Guépin, author of *Saint Josaphat archevêque de Polock, martyr de l'unité catholique et l'Église grecque uniée en Pologne* (Paris, 1874), 2 vols.]

jedność form za niezmiernie ważną dla sprawy unijnej—Polaków to oburzało. Równocześnie Metropolita starał się pogłębić poziom duchowy unitów przez nabożeństwo do Najsł[odszego] Serca Jezusowego, nabożeństwo różańcowe i przez Zgromadzenia zakonne, z których kilka przyjęło obrządek wschodni, by móc skutecznie dla Unii pracować.

W Petersburgu powstała misja grecko-katolicka, a jeżeli każda sprawa Boża musi przejść przez prześladowanie, to życie wyznawcy-męczennika ks. Fiodorowa[128] i wielu innych, jest tym świadectwem danym Prawdzie Chrystusowej.

Gdy biskupi łacińscy spod zaboru austriackiego zapytali Metropolitę, na czym opiera swą działalność apostolską poza diecezją, pokazał im papieskie breve. Pytałam go kiedyś w jakim języku rozmawia z Ojcem św. "Gdy pragnę, aby Ojcieć św. dużo mówił—odpowiedział z uśmiechem—rozmawiam po łacinie, gdy sam mam dużo do powiedzenia, mówię po francusku".

* * *

Od wstąpienia do klasztoru 31.V.1909, rzadziej widywałam Metropolitę—w Jazłowcu na mych obłóczynach, w Niżniowie i kilka razy we Lwowie. Mniej mam więc osobistych wspomnień, natomiast przytaczam tu wiele z jego listów lub urywków z listów, które są wyrazem jego ducha.

Gdy w sierpniu dowiedziałam się, że prawdopodobnie będę dopuszczona do obłóczyn na Niepokalane Poczęcie N. P. Maryi, napisałam do ks. Metropolity z polecenia Matki Marceliny, zapytując, czyby zechciał—jak o tym dawniej wspominał, przyjechać na ten dzień do Jazłowca? Wspomniałam w liście, jaką jest łaską dla mnie życie w klasztorze pod okiem Matki Marceliny i korzystanie z jej wykładów reguły oraz o moim szczęściu. Odpisał ze Lwowa 13.8.1909 r.

Moje drogie dziecko!

Tysiącznie Ci dziękuję za Twój list, bądź tak dobra, Wiel[ebnej] Matce podziękuj za jej łaskawe zaproszenie, z którego z pewnością skorzystam, jeśli Pan Bóg pozwoli, w grudniu. Bardzo pragnę poznać i Matką Darowską i Zgromadzenie, dotąd tylko z daleka znane...

...Cieszę się z Tobą i Bogu dziękuję za łaski, jakimi Cię obsypuje, przygotuj się na to, że z czasem będą większe, ale bardziej ukryte, często pod pozorami wewnętrznej oschłości i krzyżów. Bardzo Ci jestem wdzięczny za pamięć o mnie w modlitwach i bardzo o nią nadal proszę. O Matkę i siostrę badź spokojna, ani na chwilę nie wątpię i wątpić nie można, że Twoja i ich ofiara ściągnie na nich potoki łask niebieskich.

[128] [Leonid Fedorov (1879–1935), a convert from Orthodoxy, studied at Lviv and in Italy under the tutelage of Metropolitan Šeptyc'kyj. Greek Catholic exarch of Russia from 1917, he was arrested in 1923 and imprisoned by the Soviet authorities.]

Niech Cię Bóg błogosławi. Do widzenia w Jazłowcu.
Wielebnej Matce wyrazy czci, Tobie najszczersze pozdrowienia

+ Andrzej
Metropolita

W piątek zaczynam nowennę do Najśł[odszego] Serca P[ana] J[ezusa] (dziewięć piątków) w sprawie misji—przyłącz się do niej i o to poproś W. Matkę i Siostry.

Tak więc modlitwa połączyła Zgromadzenie z Metropolitą, jeszcze przed jego przybyciem do Jazłowca.

Będąc na kuracji u dra Lahmanna w Weisser Hirsch (Niemcy) pisał 4. XI. 1909.

Moja droga Zosiu!
Donoszę Ci, że tu zabawię jeszcze na kuracji kilka dni, a stąd jadę do Rzymu; mam nadzieję, że będę mógł być w Jazłowcu na 8.XI, bardzo będę Ci wdzięcznym, jeśli mi do Rzymu (Collegio ruteno, piazza Madonna di Monti) doniesiesz, czy wolno być u was w dniu obłóczyn, czy mogę przenocować w Jazłowcu, w kaplicy domowej Mszę św. odprawić, (tak, żeby proboszcz miejscowy i lud o mojej bytności nie wiedzieli) i czy Cię będę mógł widzieć. Prawdopodobnie jechałbym wprost z Rzymu, oczywiście nie mogę oznaczać godziny—może przyjechałbym rano 8.XII, a 8.XII wieczorem wyjechałbym. Duszą z Tobą robię nowicjat, zaczynający życie oddane modlitwie—proszę też Boga, żeby Cię prowadził drogą modlitwy do doskonałości.
Oddając Cię Bogu i Najśw. Pannie, serdecznie Cię pozdrawiam i błogosławię

+ Andrzej
Metropolita.

Rzeczywiście, wprost z Rzymu przyjechał ks. Metropolita do Jazłowca, wieczorem 7-go grudnia. Było już za późno, by go witać, gdy szedł na kapelanię, więc tylko przez okienko furty jedna z Sióstr ustaliła z towarzyszącym mu księdzem porządek nabożeństwa dnia następnego. Obłóczyny odbywały się rano. Pogoda była jesienna, ciepła, słoneczna. Wczesnym rankiem przyjechała moja Matka z Leosiami i Ziutą Niemojowską[129] i pobłogosławiła mnie w parlatorium. Właśnie wchodził w furtę "wspaniały dygnitarz o łagodnym uśmiechu i bardzo dobrym wejrzeniu", jak Metropolitę określiła jedna z Sióstr, którą w dalszym ciągu kilka razy przytoczę. "Procesja zakonna roztoczyła się, najmłodsze dzieci zakładu rzucały kwiatki. Nad schodami przy kaplicy, czekała Matka Marcelina, powitała ks. Metropolitę, który się bardzo dobrotliwie i z uszanowaniem ku niej pochylił" (S. I.). Klęknęłam, prosząc o błogosławieństwo na obłóczyny i bierzmowanie, którego, za upoważnieniem Arcybiskupa Bilczewskiego[130] miał Metropolita kilku osobom udzielić. Wśród nich, byłam i ja. Było to

[129] [Zofia Niemojowska, née Szembek (1882–1931), wife of Wacław, cousin of the memoirist.]
[130] [Józef Bilczewski (1860–1923), Latin archbishop, metropolitan of Lviv from 1901.]

dla mnie osobną łaską, że mogłam ten sakrament przyjąć z rąk Metropolity. Bierzmowanie prócz mnie, jednej postulantki i 6-ciu uczennic z za kordonu[131] —odbyło się w asyście księży łacińskich, potem ks. Metropolita rozpoczął Mszę św. Służył do niej Leoś, asystowali księża ruscy. Siedemnaście Sióstr brało udział w uroczystościach zakonnych, 13 miało obłóczyny, 4 składały wieczyste śluby. Po Mszy św. wprowadziła Matka Marcelina już obleczone nowicjuszki do kaplicy, podchodziłyśmy kolejno do tronu arcybiskupiego, by otrzymać błogosławieństwo Metropolity. Po kazaniu miejscowego proboszcza ks. Grygla[132] —śluby wieczyste. "Metropolita (zapisała S. I.) był widocznie nimi przejęty, słuchał ślicznie zamodlony, znać zakonnika". Po skończonym nabożeństwie, śniadanie Metropolity i rodziny, asystowała Matka Marcelina, również przy obiedzie (księża jedli na kapelanii, goście innych sióstr osobno. Tegoż dnia otrzymałam obrazek Matki Najśw[iętszej] z odręcznym błogosławieństwem Ojca św., Piusa X, wystarał się o to i przysłał ks. Henryk Badeni,[133] będący podówczas w Rzymie.

Miłym było Metropolicie ujrzenie na ścianie w kaplicy obrazu swej Matki. Była to piękna kopia "Świętej Nocy" Corregia. Wymalowała go Babcia na prośbę Matki Marceliny (za pośrednictwem swej dawnej przyjaciółki, a późniejszej zakonnicy, S[iostry] M[arii] Ludwiki od św. Rodziny (Morstinówny).[134] Na odwrotnej stronie umieściła była Babcia napis, że maluje ten obraz na chwałę Bożą w intencji synów, których wymieniała, począwszy od Jerzego. Metropolita i moja Matka pamiętali, jak Babcia ten obraz malowała.

Nie udało się, jak pragnął Metropolita, zataić jego bytności; po południu przyszła procesja z księdzem unickim,[135] przeprowadzić go uroczyście do cerkwi, stamtąd znów procesjonalnie udał się do kościoła, gdzie go proboszcz łaciński powitał—i na chwilę pojechał do Nowosiółki, do Błażowskich,[136] którzy byli po niego pojazd do Buczacza wysłali. O 5-ej konferencja z tronu wypowiedziana. "Z pięknej duszy przemówił,

131 [I.e., from across the Austrian-Russian border.]

132 [Jan Grygiel (1869–after 1936), administrator of the Roman Catholic parish at Jazlivec' during the period described by the author.]

133 [Henryk Badeni (1884–1943), son of Stanisław, marshal of Galicia.]

134 [Ludwika Morstin (d. 1908), daughter of Ludwik and Maria, née Ostrowska, prioress of the Convent of the Immaculate Sisters at Jarosław from 1875.]

135 [Mykola Hryhorovyč (1832–before 1927), Greek Catholic parish priest at Jazlivec' from 1879 and assessor of the episcopal consistory at Stanyslaviv.]

136 [Baron Julian Błażowski (b. 1858), owner of Novosilka Jazlivec'ka in the county of Bučač, deputy to the Council of State in Vienna in 1898–1907, and his wife Maria, née Torosiewicz, from a wealthy Galician Armenian family. Their niece, Maria Błażowska (b. 1879), was in the Order of the Immaculate Sisters at Jazlivec' as Sister Irena.]

zaznaczając, że mówi, 'jako biskup i jako wasz brat—zakonnik, niestety nie w klauzurze'. Każde słowo brzmiało odczuciem i zrozumieniem modlitwy. On tym żyje, głosi z dna serca to, co podstawą naszego ducha i życia. Świat—mówił—rozdziela klasztory czynne i kontemplacyjne, w rzeczywistości tego rozdziału nie ma, bo modlitwa jest żywym czynem, a czynu nie powinno być bez modlitwy. Jeśli czyn nie oparty na modlitwie, jeśli mu zabraknie tej podstawy, tak łatwo może się na nim pojawić jakaś skaza. A jak na białej tkaninie, drobna plamka jest widoczna, tak w życiu zakonnym najmniejsza skaza się uwydatnia i podchwycona jest przez ludzi świata. Dlatego trzeba się wciąż w Boga wpatrywać: 'Bóg nam wszystkiem, wszystkiem, wszystkiem!' wykrzyknął z dna serca bardzo wzruszonym głosem. A tak się w nim tę bratnię duszę odczuło, że wszytkie Niepokalanki sobie zjednał, zacząwszy od Matki, która z uznaniem i wdzięcznością dla Boga, mówiła potem, że nie spotkała tak wewnętrznej duszy między dzisiejszymi dostojnikami Kościoła".[137]

Nazajutrz odprawił Metropolita Mszę św. o godz. 6-ej. Przy śniadaniu byłam z nim sam na sam, mówił mi jeszcze o tym całkowitym oddaniu się Bogu i dał za przykład św. Tomasza, który na zapytanie Boga, jakiej chce zapłaty za swoje prace, odpowiedział: Żadnej innej, tylko Ciebie samego. I mówił o świętości reguły: "Gdy jakiś zakonnik przychodził do mnie z wątpliwościami, mówiłem mu zawsze: 'Poszukajmy odpowiedzi w regule' ". Żałował ks. Metropolita, że z Matką nie mógł rozmawiać osobno, ale już musiał wyjeżdżać—"pożegnał się tylko bardzo serdecznie, mówiąc: 'Niech mi wolno będzie nazywać się odtąd przyjacielem tego domu' ".[138] Odprowadzony był znów procesjonalnie, z rzucaniem kwiatów, świecami i śpiewem: "Omni die". Przy furcie pobłogosławił nam jeszcze. Przed odjazdem prosił Metropolita o nasze konstytucje, bo pragnął się z nimi zapoznać. Matka Marcelina obiecała mu posłać egzemplarz, gdy go tylko Siostry oprawią. Na pamiątkę bierzmowania dała mi Matka obrazek św[ięty] przez nią podpisany, posłałam go ks. Metropolicie, by i on zechciał go podpisać.[139]

137 S.M.I.

138 S.M.I.

139 Obrazek ten oddaję, jako najdroższą pamiątkę Hani [Annie] Szeptyckiej—obrazek pierwszy oddałam Krysi [daughter (b. 1917) of Leon Szeptycki, married to Potworowski, now living in Canada].

Odpowiedział mi ze Lwowa.

14.I.1910 r.

Moja droga Siostro!

Jeszcze nie podziękowałem Ci za pierwszy list i życzenia,[140] kiedy mi dzisiejsza poczta przynosi Konstytucje. Piszę do Wielebnej Matki, by jej podziękować za ten cenny dar i za tak miłą dla mnie pamięć. Do obrazka, pamiątki bierzmowania, dołączam drugi, z krzyżykiem z drzewa oliwnego z ogrodu Getsemańskiego. Za list z całego serca dziękuję. Trudno mi wyrazić Ci, jak miłe, jak podniosłe wrażenie wywiozłem od Was. Wszystko mi się podobało, tak głębokie miałem uczucie, przekonanie, że tam Ci dobrze będzie, moje drogie dziecko, że tam prędko róść będziesz w cnotach zakonnych, że poświęcenie Twoje przyniesie owoce łaski Bożej. Wyjeżdżając z Jazłowca, byłem prawdziwie szczęśliwym, że Zgromadzenie i Wiel[ebną] Matkę poznałem, że nawiązały się pierwsze nitki zapoznania się w Bogu. Dlatego też ogromnie cieszę się z Konstytucji, które z uwagą przeczytam. Wybacz, że jeszcze nie posłałem Ci relikwii św. Józefa, ale nie zdobyłem się na wyszukanie i urządzenie relikwiarzyka. Zrobię to wkrótce. Tymczasem, prosząc Cię o modlitwy, polecam Cię opiece Najśw[iętszej] Panny. Siostrom, które poznałem, oświadcz, proszę, ode mnie szczere pozdrowienia w Panu. Niech Bóg Cię błogosławi

oddany w Chr[ystusie]
+ Andrzej
Metropolita.

Dzień św. Zofii przenosił Metropolitę wspomnieniami do imienin, tak radośnie dawniej obchodzonych w Przyłbicach—Matki jego,—i o mnie pamiętał i pisał:

Lwów 14.5.1910

Moja droga Siostro Krysto!

Jutro św. Zofii, dzień ten przestał być dniem Twych imienin, odkąd umarłaś dla świata, ale św. Zofia nie przestała być Twą patronką, a przedwieczna Mądrość-Σoφία jest w tej chwili nie tylko patronką, ale mistrzynią, przewodniczką—drogą, życiem—wszystkiem, więc i życzenia nie zaszkodzą w ten dzień. Wyjeżdżam za godzinkę na wizytację na 5 tygodni, proszę o modlitwy. Dziękuję za list, na który dotąd nie miałem czasu odpisać, bo wiele miałem pracy. Bardzo żałowałem, że i u Was nie mogłem być—ale, co odłożone, to nie zapomniane, a bardzo pragnę zbliżyć się i dobrze zapoznać się z Wami i Waszą Matką.

Wiele miałem tego roku kłopotów i krzyżów, za które Bogu dziękuję, to kroki do nieba. Tymczasem Cię pozdrawiam i błogosławię, drogie dziecko, i usilnie proszę Ciebie i Siostry i Matkę o modlitwy, a przede wszystkim oświadcz Matce moje ukłony i pozdrowienie w Panu.

+ Andrzej
Metropolita.

[140] Na Święta Bożego Narodzenia.

W liście moim następnym poruszyłam stosunki polsko-ruskie, nie wiedząc, czy księdzu Metropolicie znane są niektóre sprawy i sądy, jakie wywołują, czyni do tego aluzję w odpowiedzi ze Lwowa z 12.8.1910 r.

Droga Siostro Krysto

Przesyłam Ci relikwie, przepraszając za spóźnienie, ale dopiero w Rzymie tego roku dostałem relikwiarzyki. Dziękuję za Twój poczciwy list—kwestyi w nim poruszonych nie dotykam dziś, kiedyś je omówimy. Wybieram się w daleką drogę na Kongres Eucharystyczny w Montrealu—zmuszają mnie do tego różne względy i potrzeby Biskupa Ortyńskiego[141] i misji Bazylianów—pomódl się za mnie w czasie podróży. Czy dostałaś mój list, pisany na św. Zofię? Tysiączne pozdrowienia—niech Cię Bóg błogosławi.

+ Andrzej
Metropolita.

Nie pamiętam, czy to było w Montrealu, czy w innym mieście,—gdy Metropolita wyszedł na ulicę w sutannie, otoczył go tłum gawiedzi, nieprzyzwyczajonej do tego, by księża chodzili na ulicy w sutannach. Musiał zawezwać krawca, by mu uszył długi surdut.

Dwie miał Metropolita wielkie troski od chwili objęcia archidiecezji: coraz silniejszą propagandę protestancką w Ameryce, której się starał przeciwdziałać przez wzmocnienie tamże organizacji Kościoła—i propagandę schizmatycką w Małopolsce. Ta była jeszcze trudniejsza do opanowania, bo zadawniona i mająca silne oparcie wśród tzw. Moskalofilów. Aby wyrabiać odpowiednich kapłanów, wysłał Metropolita zdolniejszych alumnów, pragnących żyć w celibacie, na studia do Rzymu lub do Insbrucku.

Tymczasem w Jazłowcu nastał bolesny okres choroby Matki Marceliny, zakończony jej śmiercią 5.I.1911 r. Trzeciego grudnia, gdy stan Matki był już beznadziejny, prosiłam przez jedną ze starszych Sióstr, by pobłogosławiła pracy Metropolity, nazajutrz przywołała mnie Matka i po krótkiej chwili rozmowy zakreśliła krzyż błogosławieństwa dla mej Matki, a potem drugi dla mej siostry, mówiąc: "Twojej siostrze kochanej, ona taka zacna, taka poświęcona wychowaniu dzieci, powiedz jej, by nie szukała wielkości światowych, stanowiska dla nich, ale czystości—niech w córkach przechowa wdzięk kobiecości w duchu zasad Zgromadzenia. . . dzieciom jej błogosławię + i bratu Twemu +, pracy jego, on taki zasobny. . . błogosławię + pracy księdza Metropolity, on ma taką czystą duszę. . . składam sprawę jego w miłosierdzie Boże i modlę się o światło dla niego. . ."

141 [Soter Stepan Ortyns'kyj (1866–1916), Greek Catholic bishop in the United States from 1907, and exarch there from 1913.]

Gdy poprzedniego roku, siostra moja przyjechała mnie odwiedzić z swą najstarszą trójką, nie zastała Matki Marceliny w Jazłowcu. Że jednak pragnęła otrzymać jej błogosławieństwo dla dzieci, podwiozła je do stacji Sądowa Wisznia, gdy Matka tamtędy przejeżdżała. Matka, uprzedzona o tym—zakreśliła krzyżyk nad ich główkami przez okno wagonu.

Na wiadomość o śmierci Matki, pisał Metropolita:

Lwów 8.1.1911 r.

Droga Siostro Krysto!

Otrzymuję właśnie Twój list z smutną wiadomością o śmierci Waszej Matki, o Waszym smutku i tęsknocie po niej. Zdaję sobie sprawę z tego, jak ciężka to dla całego zgromadzenia strata i jak ciężkie czasy Was czekają, bo z chwilą tej śmierci, nie wątpię, że Bóg będzie Was doświadczać i nawiedzać może ciężko. Osobiście także boleję ogromnie nad tym, że nie miałem okazji bliżej ją poznać i zbliżyć się do niej. Niechże Was Bóg prowadzi i niech oświeca te Siostry, które w radzie zasiadają, by wedle woli Bożej wybrały przełożoną. Będę się co dnia modlił o to i za Ciebie także, bo rozumiem dobrze, jaki to cios, jaka strata dla Ciebie.

Wróciwszy w połowie grudnia z Ameryki zastałem tu list Twój z wiadomością o chorobie Matki i modliłem się o zdrowie dla niej. Bóg powołał ją do siebie. Nie pisałem Ci, bo zastałem w domu takie stosy spraw, listów, aktów, że nie łatwo mogłem im podołać, w tych dniach właśnie pisać pragnąłem. W tych czasach potrzeba Wam dużo męstwa, wyrzeczenia się, dużo modlitwy—bo każda śmierć przełożonej to kryzys—to ciężkie przejście, a cóż dopiero zmiana założycielki i długoletniej przełożonej na pierwszą "z Sióstr". Trudne będzie zadanie nowej przełożonej—dużo potrzeba jej łaski i dużo modlitw. Dziękuję Ci bardzo, że o mnie i o moich sprawach pamiętałaś w ostatniej Twej rozmowie z Matką, za pamięć o mnie w doniesieniu o jej śmierci. Bardzo Cię też proszę o Twe modlitwy dla biednych emigrantów w Kanadzie, którzy są narażeni na wielkie niebezpieczeństwo stracenia wiary—szalona agitacja protestantów, którzy dają na to miliony, by naszych ludzi sobie pozyskać. Po stronie katolickiej od lat prawie nic się nie robiło i teraz jeszcze mało się robi.

Niech Cię Bóg błogosławi, drogie dziecko, i niech Ci udziela wszystkich łask potrzebnych do świętego spełnienia wszystkich zakonnych obowiązków. Kiedyż śluby? Kiedy się zobaczymy? T.zn. kiedyż będę mógł być w Jazłowcu? Przyjechałbym na pogrzeb Matki—lecz święta, ordynacja 35 księży w poniedziałek, prawdopodobnie dzień pogrzebu.—Dużo módlcie się o ducha jedności w Zgromadzeniu, bo nadszedł czas próby—pewien jestem, że ją przetrwacie z łaską Bożą—ale w takich epokach więcej trzeba się modlić jak zwykle.

Bóg z Tobą
+ Andrzej
Metrop[olita]

Wszystkim Siostrom wyrazy szczerego współczucia, pozdrowienia i błogosławieństwo, prośba o modlitwy—Bóg z Wami!

Przyszłość pokazała, jak duchem Bożym natchnione były słowa tego listu; gdy niebawem dla Zgromadzenia nadszedł czas próby, nie odmówił nam ks. Metropolita swej pomocy, lecz z całym oddaniem się jej udzielił.

Gdy w tymże roku, w maju, składałam pierwsze śluby, otrzymałam od Metropolity następujący list:

Lwów 12.5.1911 r.

Droga Siostro Krysto!

Choć 7-go nie na pisałem, jednak przy Mszy gorąco się za Ciebie modliłem i u stóp krzyża razem z Tobą stawałem. Teraz dopiero przesyłam najszczersze życzenia błogosławieństwa Bożego. Kiedy wybiorę się do Jazłowca, jeszcze nie mogę obiecać, bo mam obecnie dużo bardzo pracy i sam jestem w prowadzeniu administracji diecezji—wikary mój generalny i jego zastępca[142] obaj wyjechali na 5–6 tygodni.

Więc już po ślubach! Ofiara przyniesiona, zrobiona, przyjęta—zostało tylko wytrwąć na tej drodze, do końca ofiarę spełnić—uprosić z nieba ten ogień, który ofiarę Eliasza spalił—i więcej nie zostaje już nic do pragnienia.

Niech Bóg Ci błogosławi
Do widzenia
+ Andrzej
Metr[opolita]

W kilka miesięcy później widziałam się z ks. Metropolitą we Lwowie, gdzie dwa czy trzy dni musiałam spędzić, mieszkając u Leosiów. Poszłam do niego z Leosiami, którzy mu przyprowadzili najstarszą trójkę. Ucieszył się do dzieci, kazał im podać czekoladę, bawiły się w ogrodzie. Naprzeciw balkonu, za trawnikiem stała altana-muszla, w której każde słowo, wypowiedziane półgłosem na balkonie można było usłyszeć. Z ówczesnej bytności dwa zdania Metropolity utkwiły mi w pamięci; pierwsze, jak gdyby wyjęte z naszych Konstytucji: "Tłem życia zakonnicy musi być modlitwa". Drugie, że "nie należy nigdy liczyć na nadzwyczajne światło Boże tam, gdzie rozum wystarczy dla rozstrzygnięcia sprawy". Nie mogłam zwiedzić muzeum, jakie Metropolita był założył przy katedrze, bo na to nie miałam pozwolenia; po rodzicach odziedziczył zamiłowanie do sztuki i historycznych zabytków—wszak Przyłbice były małym muzeum o najcenniejszych pamiątkach, dokumentach królewskich, rodzinnych, zbieranych przez Wuja Jana, zbiorze odznak masońskich, dawnych portretach i tych nowszych, ślicznych, wykonanych przez Babcię, o której powiedziała kiedyś ciotka Józefowa Szembekowa z Poręby:[143] "Elle a le culte du mot écrit". Osobno gromadził Metropolita wszystko, co się

[142] [The vicar general of the Lviv Greek Catholic archdiocese at that time was the Reverend Andrij Bilec'kyj, who also held the position of official and archpresbyter of the metropolitan chapter. The deputy mentioned by Šeptyc'kyj is probably the Reverend Lev Turkevyč, archdeacon and dean of the same chapter.]

[143] [Ludwika Szembek, née Wielopolska (1864–1936), wife of Józef (1858–1929), owner of the Poręba-Żegoty estate in Western Galicia.]

tyczyło przeszłości Unii w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej, w czym, w odrodzonej już Polsce, pomagał mu ks. Bronisław Ussas.[144]

W tymże roku 1911, brat Metropolity, Kazimierz, postanowił oddać się na służbę Bogu. Myślał o tym od dawna, jeszcze za życia Matki, która, widząc, jak urzeczywistnienie jego pragnienia się odwleka—jednego się tylko lękała: by się nie rozminął z wołaniem Bożym. Na obrazku św[iętym] napisała mu śliczne wskazanie, by się wsłuchiwał w głos Boży, aby za nim pójść. Teraz zwierzył się bratu, że nie do łacińskiego zakonu zamierza wstąpić, lecz do grecko-katolickiego, Studytów, odłamu Bazylianów.[145] Metropolita zażądał jednak, aby wpierw spędził rok u Benedyktynów, gdzie mu Pan Bóg wskaże swą wolę: pozostania u nich, lub trwania w powziętym zamiarze. Pisał do mnie Kazio:

Beuron (Księstwo Hohenzollern, Siqmaringen)
15.12.1911 r.

Kochana Siostro!

Przypuszczam, że już via Przyłbice jakaś wiadomość Cię doszła o zmianie, jaka w moim życiu zaszła. Dbam jednak o to, żeby wprost Ci o tym donieść i wprost prosić, a prosić bardzo o Twoje modlitwy. Jestem więc tu w klasztorze Benedyktynów—na razie jako ich gość, aby zacząć i studia teologiczne i poznać życie zakonne tak w praktyce, jak i w teorii. Dobrze mi bardzo, a nie o zewnętrznym tylko życiu mówię; lecz i o tym, co w sercu się dzieje. Podziękuj, proszę Cię, Bogu, że Jego łaska zwyciężyła wszystkie trudności, a zwłaszcza tę trudność najgorszą, której na imię: *ja*—i żeśmy (i Ojciec i moi bracia) w tym przejściu nie stali się niewiernymi Bogu. Teraz dla mnie zadanie, aby nie spoczywać na liściach wypełnionego postanowienia, lecz w *urzeczywistnionym* postanowieniu teraz nadążać—i odbijać czas tak spóźniony i tak—daj Boże—oby nie zupełnie stracony.

Polecając się Twoim modlitwom i jeżeli o to prosić wolno—Waszego domu, jaknajserdeczniej Cię pozdrawiam

zawsze szczerze przywiązany
Kazimierz Szeptycki.

I Metropolita wspomina o powołaniu brata:

Lwów 5.I.1912 r.

Moja droga Siostro Krysto!

Chciałem właśnie pisać do Ciebie, kiedy Twój list mnie doszedł dziś rano—wróciłem z Rzymu przedwczoraj. Tysiącznie Ci dziękuję—jakże żałowałem, że nie mogłem wykonać zamiaru być u Was w jesieni, może w post wielki uda się. W

144 [Bronisław Ussas (1885–1977), aide in the Polish Claim Commission in the USSR following the First World War, and the commission's specialist on religious affairs; archivist of Metropolitan A. Šeptyc'kyj.]

145 [In fact, the Studites were a completely separate order from the Basilians. They had a special rule (*Typikon*) worked out by the metropolitan and his brother, Father Klymentij Šeptyc'kyj.]

Rzymie byłem krótko, bardzo jednak z mojego pobytu jestem zadowolony.

Oczywiście dziękuję Bogu za łaskę, daną Kaziowi—a przez niego i mnie i nam wszystkim. Piszę krótko, bo listów dużo, wszystkim Siostrom i całemu Zgromadzeniu życzę dobrego nowego roku. Nowy Rok, tak pojęcie zbliżone do nowego życia i do obiecanej ziemi nowej!

Bóg z Tobą i z Wami
Do widzenia!
+ Andrzej
Metropolita.

Słysząc raz jakieś zarzuty przeciw działalności antypolskiej pewnego księdza unickiego (dziś już nie pamiętam, ani jego nazwiska, ani o co chodziło) napisałam o tym Metropolicie, by mógł ją powstrzymać. W odpowiedzi jego widać pokój, z jakim do wszelkich spraw podchodzi, nie lekceważy zarzutów, choć kapłan nie z jego diecezji.

In pace Lwów 3/4 1912

Droga Siostro Krysto!

Serdecznie dziękuję za list Twój tak szczery i otwartość w sprawie X.N., o jakiej pomówię przy okazji z ks. Biskupem (Chomyszynem). Odkładałem i odkładam jeszcze jazdę do Jazłowca, dużo mam tego roku różnych trudności i kłopotów—agitacja schizmatyków burzy nam wi[arę] wsi—mam nadzieję, że nic nie wskórają, ale nie mniej przykro to i straszno.

Życzenia najszczersze[146] składam dla Ciebie i całego Zgromadzenia. Ogromnie żałowałem, że mnie Siostry[147] nie zastały i że tak rzadką i miłą straciłem wizytę. Bardzo usilnie polecam się św. modlitwom waszym—Tobie przesyłam szczere pozdrowienia i błogosławieństwa i życzenia wesołego Alleluja.

+ Andrzej
Metropolita.

Dwa miesiące później otrzymałam krótki list z prośbą o modlitwę Sióstr, tak wierzył Metropolita w skuteczność modlitwy, która była jego żywiołem. Ktoś, widząc go zatopionego w dziękczynieniu po Mszy św. Zauważył, że nigdy się z taką modlitwą nie spotkał. Teraz usunął się do Dziewiętnik, majątku brata, skąd 8.6.1912 pisał:

In pace

Droga Siostro Krysto!

Zacząłem tu wczoraj rekolekcje—piszę tylko słów kilka, by Cię prosić o modlitwy, kończę je w dzień Serca Chrystusowego, bardzo dbam, bardzo potrzebuję pomocy modlitw. Bądź tak dobra, proś wszystkie Siostry o modlitwy: choć jedno Zdrowaś Maryo dziennie przez tych kilka dni—wzajemnie swoje obiecuję. Przyjm dla siebie i Sióstr najszczersze pozdrowienia w Panu. Niech Bóg Wam błogosławi.

+ Andrzej
Metropolita.

146 Na Święta Wielkanocne

147 S. Filomena od Dziec[iątka] Jezus, przełożona generalna z towarzyszką.

Wobec zapowiedzianego udziału Rusinów w Kongresie Eucharystycznym w Montrealu,[148] wśród Polaków powstało podejrzenie, że to z ich strony jakaś akcja polityczna, zwróciłam na to uwagę ks. Metropolity. Odpisał mi bez cienia goryczy czy oburzenia wobec tych insynuacji.

In pace Westerland a Sylt.
18.8.1912

Moja droga Siostro Krysto!

Dziękuję Ci bardzo za twój (list) i za Twoją szczerość—nie obawiaj się polityki w sprawie kongresu euchar[ystycznego], bo chyba wyjątkowo ktoś tak tę rzecz bierze, jak Twój informator—pewna rzecz, że Rusinów wcale nie będzie wiele na Kongresie, dla tej prostej przyczyny, że nie ma pomiędzy Rusinami wielu, którzyby mogli narazić się na dość znaczny wydatek—olbrzymia większość to ludzie ubodzy. Na kongres biskupi dawno wiernych zaprosili i zarządzili uroczystości eucharystyczne po parafiach, a dziennikom ani się śni do spółzawodnictwa z Polakami nawoływać—o wspólnej jeździe nie ma mowy, bo to nie pielgrzymka, więc też i z każdego miasta grupami wyjadą uczestnicy Kongresu. Dziękuję Ci bardzo Tobie i Siostrom wszystkim za modlitwy w czasie rekolekcji moich, potrzeba mi ich nie tylko w czasie rekolekcji—bo dużo mam i kłopotów i trudności—schyzmatycka agitacja, która wszędzie dużo szkody wyrządza, emigracja do Ameryki i Brazylii, potrzeba misjonarzy do Kanady, których nie ma itd. Mam nadzieję, że niebawem w Rzymie zamianowany będzie ruski biskup dla Kanady[149] —najwyższy czas, bo tam straszna agitacja protestancka i mało księży. Tysiączne pozdrowienia. Niech Bóg Wasze Zgromadzenie i Ciebie zawsze we wszystkim błogosławi

+ Andrzej
Metrop[olita]

W jesieni 1912 r. Wuj Jan Szeptycki umarł w Przyłbicach. Chorował krótko i tylko Leosiowie byli obecni przy śmierci, ani Metropolita, ani bracia jego nie mogli dojechać na czas, nad czym bardzo cierpieli. Umierał opatrzony św. Sakramentami z całą przytomnością, błogosławił osobno każdemu z wnucząt, które niezmiernie kochał.

12/12 pisał ze Lwowa ks. Metropolita.

In pace

Droga Siostro Krysto!

Tysiącznie Ci dziękuję za Twój poczciwy list i szczere wyrazy współczucia—zastałem go tu wczoraj, wróciwszy z Wiednia i Beyronu. Odpisuję zaraz, choć krótko, bo Ci bardzo wdzięczny jestem za Twoją poczciwość, a tak mi przykro, że dotąd od roku do Jazłowca wybrać się nie mogłem i teraz, zmuszony koniecznością wyjechałem na parę dni i nie mogłem, jak tego pragnąłem, pojechać do Rzymu. Czasy niespokojne, choć sądzę, że wojny nie będzie, przynajmniej z Rosją i że Galicja w jej ręce nie dostanie się. Bardzo cierpię po śmierci Ojca—tyle stron w naszym

[148] [This could not have been the Eucharistic Congress in Montreal because it took place in 1910; it is probably a reference to the congress in Vienna.]

[149] [The Greek Catholic bishop in Canada, namely, Mykyta Budka (1877–1949), was appointed in 1912.]

życiu zakończyło się z nią. Bogu dziękuję, że tak po chrześcijańsku umarł i że miał śmierć lekką—i dobrą—przynajmniej nie długo chorował, co z jego usposobieniem było prawdziwą łaską Bożą. Okropnie cierpiałem nad tym, że nie byłem w Przyłbicach w ostatnich chwilach. W ostatnich dniach lutego br[at] Klemens (Kazimierz) kończy nowicjat w Beuronie i jedzie do Bośni do klasztoru w Kamienicy.[150] Polecam jego i siebie modlitwom Twoim i Sióstr.

Serdeczne pozdrowienia i prośba o pamięć Sióstr

+ Andrzej

Zdaje mi się, że śmierć Ojca była dla Metropolity stratą wielką, nie tylko pod względem rodzinnym: mógł z nim mówić swobodnie i szczerze o stosunkach polsko-ruskich, nad zaostrzeniem których Wuj Jan—jak mi to mówił we Lwowie—bardzo cierpiał. Po jego śmierci nie było nikogo, ktoby go pod tym względem zastąpił. "Staram się zawsze—powiedział mi kiedyś Metropolita—Rusinów ku Polakom skierowywać", lecz brak wzajemnego porozumienia, brak ludzi o szerszym, bezstronnym poglądzie udaremniał wysiłki. Gdy raz w sejmie powstał jakiś zasadniczy spór wśród różnych stronnictw, Metropolita zabrał głos, wskazując możność rozwiązania sprawy.[151] Nie pamiętam, o co chodziło, lecz gdy mnie w r. 1913/14 odwiedzał w Niżniowie mój kuzyn Stefan Badeni,[152] podkreślał, jak piękne było wystąpienie Metropolity. Największym utrudnieniem w pracy był brak wyrobionych, świętych kapłanów, brak zakonów. "Co bym dał za to—powiedział mi już po wojnie światowej Metropolita—gdybym miał takie Zgromadzenie wychowawcze, jak wasze". Kiedyś też słyszałam, jak mówił: "Arcybiskup Bilczewski bez porównania więcej robi dla Polaków niż ja dla Rusinów". Myślę, że miał na myśli wielką ilość kaplic filialnych, wystawionych przez Arcybiskupa w archidiecezji Lwowskiej.

Z początkiem roku 1913, 2-go stycznia pisał Metropolita ze Lwowa:

In pace

Droga moja Siostro Krysto!

Tysiącznie Ci dziękuję za Twój list i życzenia—przyjm dla siebie i Zgromadzenia całego moje i życzenia i modlitwy—na rok i na całe życie. Dziękuję Ci bardzo za wiadomości o Was—bardzo mnie wszystko obchodzi, co się do Was odnosi i tak bardzo pragnąłbym być w waszych stronach i w Jazłowcu, ale tak mnożą się zajęcia i prace i kłopoty, że nie wiem, kiedy mi się to uda. W Beuronie byłem przed miesiącem—br. Klemens kończy nowicjat, jak wiesz, dla Studytów—to kongregacja Bazylianów, więcej kontemplacyjna—zbliżona do typu Benedyktynów, dlatego to i

150 [The Studite monastery, established in 1908 for pastoral work among the Greek Catholic immigrants from Galicia and Carpathian Rus', was closed down by the Yugoslav government in 1923.]

151 [The issue of the reform of the electoral law for the Land Diet in Galicia, in which the metropolitan filled the role of mediator between Polish parties and the Ukrainian camp.]

152 [Stefan Badeni (1885–1961), son of Stanisław, marshal of Galicia; he was spokesman for the committee for the reform of the electoral law in the Galician Diet.]

nowicjat, czy raczej część nowicjatu odbywał w Beuronie. Praca i modlitwa wypełniają dzień; praca apostolska nie wykluczona, ale nie poszukiwana, pełne modlitwy w chórze trwają kilka godzin dziennie. Lwowski klasztor, do którego br. Klemens należy, zajmuje się pracą naukową—więcej, przy widzeniu się opowiem. Przepraszam za pośpiech i krótkość listu, ale już późno w nocy, gorąco polecam twoim i Sióstr modlitwom całą diecezję i misję kat[olicką] w Rosji, rozumie się i siebie i br. Klemensa. Tysiączne przesyłam pozdrowienia i błogosławieństwa

+ Andrzej
Metropolita

Pisząc o Studytach metropolita nie wspomniał, że to on Studytów powołał znów do życia—o działalności swej nie zwykł był mówić.

Rok szkolny 1913/1914 spędzałam w Niżniowie. W jesieni odwiedził mnie tam ks. Metropolita, lecz tylko kilka godzin w klasztorze spędził. Był niezmiernie dobrotliwy, udzielił osobnego błogosławieństwa śmiertelnie chorej S[iostrze] Narcyzie i prosił ją o modlitwy, "czy tu, czy w niebie". Z S. Zofią rozmawiał o jej rodzinie, bo znał dobrze Ustianowiczów, Rusinów. Ojciec S. Zofii był Rusinem, matka Polką-łacinniczką); zgodził się chętnie na konferencję dla nas. Mówił o krzyżu, o znaczeniu cierpienia, łączącego nas z Chrystusem—a przede wszystkim o znoszeniu "krzyża codziennych umartwień". Długo potem Siostry wspominały tę konferencję. Proboszcz unicki przyjechał po Metropolitę, by go na kolej odwieść. Obiecał, że z nim pomówi o ułatwieniu nam sprowadzenia wody ze źródła na jego gruncie.

Siostry w Niżniowie zastanawiały się kiedyś, czy umierający może w braku księdza katolickiego—spowiadać się przed popem schyzmatyckim? Pisząc do Metropolity, zapytałam go o to—krótko odpisał:

In pace Lwów 19.IV.1914 r.

Droga Siostro Krysto

Tysiącznie dziękuję za list, modlitwy, życzenia. Na pytanie odpowiadam, że na wypadek ciężkiej choroby, albo podobny, wolno by się spowiadać przed szyz[matyckim] Popem, jeśli byłoby wykluczone zgorszenie wiernych. W takim wypadku, spowiedź, wzgl[ędnie], rozgrzeszenie ważne. Ecclesia supplex. Tysiączne pozdrowienie dla wszystkich Sióstr—niech Wam Bóg we wszystkim błogosławi.

+ Andrzej
Metr[opolita]

W lecie rozpoczęła się wojna. Moskale wkroczyli do Galicji, zajęli Lwów—zażądali, by Metropolita wydał list do diecezjan, zachęcający do łączenia się z prawosławiem, a gdy odmówił, wywieźli go na Wschód. Przez długi czas nie wiedziałyśmy, gdzie się znajduje—mówiłam stale "Magnificat" w jego intencji. Gdy doszła wiadomość, że w Kursku, a Moskale wyparci z Galicji w r. 1915, zajęli Jazłowiec powtórnie w r. 1916, napisałam do niego. W lipcu otrzymałam kartkę:

Kursk 21.6.(s[tarego] s[tylu])1916 r.

Droga Siostro Krysto

Bardzo ucieszyła mnie Twoja kartka z 1/V, którą dostaję i fakt, że doszła. Czy dojdzie i moja? Proszę o to św. Ant[oniego]. Niech Bóg Wam błogosławi za pamięć w modlitwach, dziękuję i odwdzięczam się, jak mogę. Bogu dziękuję, żeście za łaską Bożą przebyły te ciężkie czasy. Ja zdrów i choć nic w moim położeniu od 2 lat się nie zmieniło, Bogu dziękuję, że mogę Mszę św. odprawiać. Od Leosiów dawno nie miałem wiadomości—w ogóle z Galicji! Serdeczne pozdrowienia i ukłony, modlitwy

+ Andrzej

Następną kartkę otrzymałam dopiero w rok później, po marcowym wybuchu rewolucji w Rosji. Przypuszczając, że ks. Metropolita został z więzienia zwolniony, w imieniu S[iostry] M[arii] Michaeli przełożonej, zaprosiłam go do Jazłowca, póki się droga do Lwowa nie otworzy. Front rosyjski dochodził podówczas m[niej] w[ięcej] do Tarnopola. Rzeczywiście—Metropolita, który był przewieziony do Jarosławia nad Wołgą, zobaczył pewnego dnia, że drzwi więzienia są otwarte—był wolny. Odpowiedź, niestety odmowną—otrzymałam niebawem.

Piotrogród 22.5.s.s.

Droga Siostro Krysto!

List Twój z 15/[?] dostałem w Kijowie i przykro mi było, że nie mogłem przyjąć zaproszenia—ale droga moja nie na Galicję prowadziła—choć chętnie byłbym tam był. Stąd niedługo wyjeżdżam do Torneo,[153] zagranicę i do Rzymu. Jestem zdrów—z dnia na dzień oczekuję paszportów. Tysiącznie dziękuję Ci za pamięć i modlitwy. Niech Bóg Was błogosławi i strzeże od wszelkiego zła, jak dotąd strzegł. Bóg z Wami

Andrzej

Bytność Metropolity w Piotrogrodzie była niezmiernie ważna: zorganizował tam powstający grecko-katolicki Kościół w Rosji, zwoławszy synod, któremu przewodniczył. Na zakończenie synodu zaprosił Arcybiskupa Roppa,[154] biskupa Cieplaka[155] i innych polskich duchownych.[156]

Z Rzymu powrócił Metropolita do Lwowa. Mój brat odwiedził go wówczas, szukając pokrzepienia w ciężkim przejściu osobistym. Tak dla każdego z nas umiał być pomocą i oparciem.

[153] [Tornio (Swedish, Torneå, a rail junction on the border between Sweden and the then Grand Duchy of Finland. The metropolitan crossed here on 7 July 1917.]

[154] [Edward Ropp (1851–1939) bishop of Tyraspil' from 1902 and of Vilnius from 1903; archbishop of Mahilioŭ from 1917; arrested by the Soviet authorities in 1919 and released in the same year. He lived in Poland until his death.]

[155] [Jan Cieplak (1857–1926), bishop suffragan of Mahilioŭ from 1908, arrested by the Soviet authorities, sentenced to death, and then released at the intervention of Western nations. The metropolitan of Vilnius from 1925.]

[156] Obszerniej piszę o tym w drugiej mej pracy.

4/XII tegoż roku pisze Metropolita ze Lwowa.

In pace X[ris]ti

Droga Siostro Krysto!

Wróciwszy wczoraj z Wiednia, zastałem tu Twój list z wiadomością o wieczystych ślubach, spieszę więc przesłać Ci najszczersze życzenia wielkiej łaski z nieba na ten dzień 8/XII i na całe życie. Niech Bóg Ci błogosławi i całemu Zgromadzeniu i wszystkim Siostrom, które tego samego dnia co Ty, będą dopuszczone do ślubów albo obłóczyn. Często za Was i za całe Zgromadzenie modle się i liczę także na Waszą pamięć o mnie.

Piszesz, że Cię lęk ogarnia na myśl o "zmarnowanych latach". Cieszę się, że je tak sądzisz, raczej, że je z tej strony widzisz, choć z drugiej strony one nie są zmarnowane te lata zakonnego życia—i łaska Boża—łaska oświecająca niewątpliwie rosła z każdym dniem, ale dobrze, że w nich widzisz tylko chwile zmarnowane i łaski niezużyte, boć nie można opierać ofiary życia, jaką składa się przy ślubach na innej podstawie, jak na pojęciu o swojej nicości i niegodności—to fundament chrześcijański wszelkiego dobrego dzieła. Mogę Ci tylko życzyć, żebyś jeszcze tysiąc razy głębiej wnikała w tę pokorną myśl. Ona ma głębie o jakich Ci się jeszcze i nie śni: wszak łaska Boża jest miłością i mądrością niestworzoną, nieskończoną, wielkością większą od niebios—czyż dziwne, że wobec tej nieskończoności musi znikać *wszystko*, co skończone, doczesne, marne i plamą wydawać się nawet to, co dobre i święte, ale małe, niepełne, niedoskonałe i ograniczone ciągle naszą nędzą i słabością. Czyż może rozum obiąć "sapientiam increatam" inaczej, jak rozumiejąc na samym wstępie swój nierozum! Ale Ty więcej o tym wszystkim wiesz, jak ja, wyrzucony ze statku życia zakonnego w burzliwe morze świata i prac, do których trzebaby być świętym! Dlatego więcej o tym i nie piszę i kończę, przesyłając Wam wszystkim, a osobliwie Tobie, droga Siostro Krysto, najszczersze życzenia: niech Bóg błogosławi i szczere ukłony i pozdrowienia w Panu

+ Andrzej
Metropolita

Wojna światowa miała się ku końcowi. Niemcy, chcąc zaszachować Rosję, poczęli popierać organizującą się Ukrainę kijowską, w Galicji szerzyła się wywrotowa agitacja coraz silniej, przedstawiłam obawy Metropolicie, w liście przesłanym jakąś okazją. Odpisał:

Pax X[ris]ti Lwów 30/III 1918
Wielka Sobota

Moja droga Siostro Krysto!

List Twój, pisany 29/II dostałem 10/III w dzień mego wyjazdu ze Lwowa do Słowity[157] na rekolekcje, a Pani Błażowskiej do domu. Nie mogłem przeto przez nią odpowiedzieć. Od tego czasu ciągła praca wielkopostna, misje, rekolekcje, potem influenza, która kilka dni trzymała mnie w pokoju i nie pozwoliła na święta do Przyłbic pojechać—wszystko to przyczyną spóźnienia mojej odpowiedzi. Posyłam ją dziś, by choć przed świętami przesłać Tobie i całemu Zgromadzeniu najszczersze życzenia. Za list i za szczere wypowiedzenie swoich obaw i

157 [A monastery of Basilian sisters.]

spostrzeżeń szczerze dziękuję. Nie ma nic dziwnego, choć to rzecz smutna, że i tak długa wojna i straszne niesprawiedliwości, jakie lud ze strony władzy doznawał i doznaje, a także rewolucja w Rosji i na Ukrainie i anarchia tam panująca bardzo ujemnie wpływają na moralność ludu, nie tylko u nas, ale pewnie i na całym świecie. Ale o wywłaszczeniu nikt poważnie nie mówi i nie ma u nas obawy jakichś rozruchów socjalnych, rabunków lub czegoś podobnego. Sądzę, że do niczego takiego nie przyjdzie. A lud mimo przeróżnych haseł i wiadomości i nadziei radykalnych i fałszywych wogóle jeszcze do wiary przywiązany i pobożny.—Praca księży stała się trudną—duchowieństwa mało—wielu zajątych jeszcze w wojsku, wielu księży umarło, nie zastąpieni jeszcze. Ale mimo to wszystko, głoszenie Ewangelii swoje osiąga i zło usuwa choć w części.

Zupełnie rozumiem Twoje zaniepokojenie, takie czasy. Trzeba usilnie prosić Boga o miłosierdzie, o zakończenie wojny i o normalne stosunki. Przy normalnych stosunkach, jeśli Bóg da, i odpowiednie zmiany Konstytucji w Austrii—porozumienie między Polakami i Rusinami będzie możliwe, może prawdopodobne. Ja zawsze byłem za wspólnym listem pasterskim biskupów trzech obrządków, ale do tego nigdy nie przyszło, za wiele zdaje się trudności.[158] Dotąd nie przyszło i do wspólnej konferencji biskupów, choć o nią prosiliśmy.

Dla nas, t.j. dla Unii otwiera się przez upadek caratu i schizmatyckiej cerkwi ogromna praca, przewyższająca znacznie nasze siły. Główną moją prośbą modlitwa o "świętych robotników na pańskie żniwo". Na Wołyniu i Podolu całe wsie zgłaszają się o księży unickich, w Kijowie, Moskwie, Petersburgu wiele nawróceń, ale wszędzie "robotników mało". Usilnie proszę Cię i wszystkie Siostry o Wasze modlitwy—trzeba wyprosić święte, bezżenne duchowieństwo, pełne miłości Boga i ducha apostolskiego, które by spełniło wolę Bożą i rozszerzyło królestwo Chrystusowe.

Przyjm dla siebie i Siostrom oświadcz moje życzenia, pozdrowienia, ukłony. Niech Bóg Wam błogosławi

+ Andrzej
Metr[opolita]

O pokoju brzeskim,[159] oderwaniu od Polski Ziemi Chełmskiej a przyłączeniu jej do powstającej Ukrainy, dowiedziałyśmy się w Jazłowcu z gazet, jak również o podziękowaniu Metropolity w Izbie Panów Rządowi austriackiemu—proteście Koła Polskiego i proteście biskupa Pelczara w szczególności co do ziemi Chełmskiej i stanowiska Metropolity. Można było żałować, że Metropolita zabrał głos w tej sprawie, co zmusiło biskupa Pelczara do przypomnienia, że unici chełmscy wytrwali przy wierze tylko dzięki związaniu z Polską, z którą się i nadal czują złączeni, tak, że narzucony podział zpewnością wywoła wśród wielu sprzeciw. Treści

[158] Pytałam w liście, czy wspólny list nie byłby wskazany, aby jedni i drudzy wiedzieli, gdzie szukać jedności i na czym ją oprzeć.

[159] [The treaty between Germany and Austria-Hungary, on the one hand, and a delegation of the Ukrainian Central Council, at Berestja on 9 February 1918. The metropolitan supported that act in a speech made in the Austrian House of Lords (28 February 1918), over a protest by Bishop J. Pelczar.]

przemówienia Metropolity dziś nie pamiętam, wiem tylko, że zakończył tym, że pełnomocnik Austrii w Brześciu, minister Czernin, przejdzie do historii, jako "wielki Czernin".[160] Mylił się w tym Metropolita—przyszłość okazała, że Czernin był tylko marną figurą marnego rządu, a pokój brzeski rozpadł się niebawem—lecz oburzenie społeczeństwa polskiego przetrwało. Nie pisałam podówczas do Metropolity—bo było zapóźno—krok jego bolał mnie bardzo. Wkrótce potem przyjechał do Jazłowca O[jciec] Bernard Łubieński,[161] Redemptorysta, którego znałam jako dziecko, gdy miał, za życia Ojca mego, misje w Siemianicach i który mi wówczas powiedział, że będę zakonnicą. Wiedziałam, że bywa u Metropolity, więc mu wypowiedziałam mój ból. Wysłuchał mnie—a potem zakreślił krzyż w powietrzu. "Zostaw ks. Metropolitę—rzekł—i módl się, by nim Bóg kierował. Widziałem u niego stosy listów—i z ziemi Chełmskiej—błagające o przywrócenie Unii". Kiedyś później, będąc u Metropolity we Lwowie, poruszyłam tę sprawę. "Jeżeli Rosja ma się nawrócić—powiedział—z ziemi Chełmskiej wyjdą ci, dzięki którym się nawróci". Tej idei podporządkowywał wszystko.

Tymczasem, jako następstwo podziału Galicji na dwie części przez ustępujący rząd Austrii, rozpoczęła się wojna polsko-ukraińska. Zastała mnie w Szymanowie. Gdy doszły nas wieści o tym, co przechodziły Siostry w Jazłowcu razem z internowanymi tam przez Ukraińców Polakami,[162] doniosłam o tym Metropolicie—odpisał ze Lwowa 10/IV 1919 r.

Droga Siostro Krysto!

W sprawie Jazłowca zaraz napisałem do władz, wzgl. do księdza, który w moim imieniu pochodzi i wstawi się, gdzie będzie potrzeba. Do mnie dochodziły wiadomości, że w Jazłowcu byli tylko księża internowani, teraz od jakich 2 tygodni wypuszczeni, mam więc nadzieję, że i klasztor jest wolny od kłopotów obozu. O Niżniowie nie miałem żadnych wiadomości. Prawda, że wiadomości są nader rzadkie i na wiele listów w różnych sprawach żadnej dotąd nie mam odpowiedzi. Ser-

160 [Ottokar Czernin (1872–1932), Austro-Hungarian minister of foreign affairs and of the imperial court, 1916–1918.]

161 [Bernard Łubieński (1846–1933), Redemptorist, missionary, and religious writer.]

162 [The alleged Ukrainian violence against the Convent of the Immaculate Sisters in Jazlivec' is explained by Sister Krysta Szembek in the second part of her memoirs (personal archives of J. K. Szeptycki, Sister M. K. Szembek, "Odpowiedz na rozprawę," p. 39): "During the Polish-Ukrainian war, Warsaw dailies carried a report about the martyrdom of some sisters at Jazlivec' who allegedly had been brutally murdered by the Ukrainians. At Szymanów our hearts cringed until letters came from Jazlivec'. When the prioress of Szymanów told the father of one of our wards that the news had been untrue he started laughing: 'We knew from the beginning that it was not true.' 'So why was it reported by the daily newspapers?' 'In order to stir up public opinion against the Ukrainians.'"]

deczne pozdrowienia. Módl się za mnie i za dusze wszystkich ofiar tej nieszczęsnej wojny.

+ Andrzej
A[rcy]b[isku]p

Już po ukończonej wojnie, gdy Piłsudski, jako Naczelnik Państwa przybył do Lwowa, Metropolita prosił o audiencję i w oznaczonym dniu i godzinie zamierzał wyjść z pałacu św. Jura, by się na nią udać. Zastał wartę żołnierzy polskich u drzwi. Napróżno pokazał kartę z naznaczoną godziną audiencji. Tłumaczyli się otrzymanym rozkazem. Zawrócił więc. Do wieczora był internowany. Nazajutrz rano Piłsudski opuścił Lwów. Metropolita napisał do niego, wyjaśniając, że przybyć nie mógł.[163] Kto wydał rozkaz internowania Księcia Kościoła, który z Głową Państwa miał się spotkać? Czy lękano się spotkania tych dwóch ludzi, których myśl wybiegała w przyszłość i którzy—niezależnie jeden od drugiego—rozumieli, że podstawą do istotnego sojuszu mogła być tylko unia polityczna dwóch narodów? Czy rozkaz wydał sam Naczelnik, w poczynaniach swych czasem nieobliczalny, a zdający sobie sprawę z odosobnienia swego ideologicznego w narodzie i nie chcący się niczym wiązać?

Gdy w czasie sabotażów ukraińskich w r. 1930, nastąpiła t. zw. "pacyfikacja", która tak bardzo zaszkodziła na przyszłość, Metropolita poleciał aeroplanem do Warszawy—i znów nie został dopuszczony do Piłsudskiego,[164] czy też przyjęty przez niego. Nie użalał się jednak nigdy.

Po wojnie ukraińskiej Metropolita pojechał do Rzymu i dłuższy czas tam przebywał. Powrót jego był uzależniony od rozmowy z vice-ministrem Władysławem Skrzyńskim,[165] przedstawicielem Rządu. Rozmawiali długo i szczerze; pod koniec rozmowy Skrzyński, który to mówił mej Matce, rzucił się w objęcia Metropolity. Ten ostatni wrócił do Lwowa przez Warszawę, gdzie złożył przysięgę wierności Rzeczypospolitej w ręce prezydenta Wojciechowskiego.[166] Zachorował był właśnie na stawy, tak, że go musiano wnosić po schodach do gabinetu prezydenta.

W jesieni 1922 r.[167] byłam we Lwowie u ks. Metropolity. Kilka osób czekało przede mną na posłuchanie. Ostatni wszedł jakiś człowiek o

163 [This was on 23 June 1919. Cf. *Ukraine and Poland in Documents, 1918-1922*, pt. 1, ed. Taras Hunchak (New York, 1983), pp. 209–11.]

164 [During the pacification of so-called Eastern Little Poland (Eastern Galicia), the metropolitan visited Warsaw twice, from 29 September to 3 October and from 6–11 October 1930, and met with several members of the government and the former prime minister, Walery Sławek.]

165 [Władysław Skrzyński (1873–1937), first an envoy (1921) and then ambassador (1924) of Poland to the Vatican.]

166 [Stanisław Wojciechowski (1869–1953), activist of the Polish peasant movement, president of Poland in 1922–1926, ousted following the coup led by Marshal Józef Piłsudski.]

167 [An obvious mistake; in 1922 the metropolitan was in the United States.]

bardzo ubogim wyglądzie i był tak krótko, że zapytałam Metropolitę, czy sam udziela biednym jałmużny? Odpowiedział, że zależy: zwykle otrzymują ją przy drugim wejściu, lecz gdy czasem któryś ma większe potrzeby, przychodzi powtórnie wprost do niego, a wtedy mu dodaje. Tak było i tym razem.

W związku z bytnością mej Matki w Jazłowcu, otrzymałam od niej później następującą notatkę:

"Przeczytawszy w Jazłowcu manuskrypt p. Pelagii Karnkowskiej o życiu i śmierci kardynała Czackiego[168] w Rzymie, oraz o twierdzeniu jej, jakoby był otruty, wspomniałam o tym jej posądzeniu ks. Metropolicie Szeptyckiemu. Zaprzeczył. Właśnie w tym czasie bawił w Rzymie—jakie może dwa dni przed śmiercią Kardynała był u niego i został zaproszony na śniadanie. W międzyczasie przyjechała do Rzymu Matka Metropolity, ciotka Szeptycka—zamierzała również odwiedzić Kardynała, lecz dopiero za kilka dni. Wobec przyjazdu Matki poszedł Metropolita osobiście wytłumaczyć się i oznajmić, że na dzień naznaczony na śniadanie przybyć nie będzie mógł. Jakież było przerażenie jego, gdy mu powiedziano, że tej nocy Kardynał nagle umarł. Prosił o pozwolenie wejścia do pokoju, gdzie leżał, by się pomodlić przy ciele... Kardynał leżał, o ile pamiętam, nie na łóżku, ale na kanapie, na której skonał—twarz miał przykrytą chustką, czy prześcieradłem. Metropolita odsunął je i cofnął się przerażony. Cała broda zmarłego i ubranie zbroczone było krwią! co chyba jasno dowodzi, że nie trucizna była przyczyną jego śmierci, lecz raczej pęknięcie jakiejś żyły... Swoją drogą ogólnie mówiono, że cierpiał on na wielkie bóle w piersi, na uśmierzenie których zwykł był zażywać jakieś silne bardzo krople—przypisywano śmierć jego za wielkiej dawce owego lekarstwa. Metropolita zapewniał mnie, że o jakiejś tajemniczej przyczynie śmierci, jak otruciu, nigdy tam mowy nie było, bo i przyczyny do podobnego czynu ze strony rządu rosyjskiego również nie było. Metropolita uważa ową pogłoskę za zmyśloną i najzupełniej nieuzasadnioną".

Tak jak nam to Metropolita po śmierci Matki Marceliny był zapowiedział, Zgromadzenie przechodziło podówczas okres wielkich prób i trudności; wszyscy trzej Arcybiskupi Lwowscy[169] dopomogli nam w przetrwaniu owych czasów. Oto niektóre listy lub urywki listów z lat 1924–1932, świadczące o niezmiennej życzliwości Metropolity.

[168] [Włodzimierz Czacki (1835–1888), the papal nuncio in Paris in 1875–1882, cardinal in 1882.]

[169] [I.e., *in addition to* Šeptyc'kyj, Bolesław Twardowski, the Roman Catholic archbishop, and Józef Teodorowicz, the Armenian Catholic archbishop.]

1/V 1926 r. pisał ze Lwowa.

In pace
Moja droga Siostro Krysto
Na Twój list z 25/IV chciałem zaraz tego samego dnia, kiedy go 28 otrzymałem, odpowiedzieć, wstrzymała mnie Twoja prośba, by z X[ędzem] Ar[cybiskupem] (Twardowskim)[173] rzecz ułożyć. To wszystko wypadło w wielki tydzień, wśród nabożeństw, zabierających całe dnie... Za Twój list serdecznie dziękuję... Niech Bóg Ci błogosławi i da Wam przejść te próby, które Wam zesłał z wielkimi zasługami i z korzyścią dla całego Zgromadzenia

+ Andrzej
A[rcy]b[isku]p

W liście z 21/7 tegoż roku przed wyjazdem do Karlsbadu prosił ks. Metropolita osobno o modlitwy za swoją diecezję—znać zdawał sobie sprawę, jak opornie szła praca nad nią. Coraz gorszy stan zdrowia był też niemałym utrudnieniem. List ze Lwowa z 8/3 27 r. pisany jest lewą ręką.

In pace
Droga Siostro Krysto
Piszę, jak widzisz, lewą ręką, dlatego późno odpisuję. Tego roku nie mogę myśleć o tym, żeby do Rzymu pojechać, ale na tym nic nie tracicie... Za modlitwy tysiącznie dziękuję—Matce ukłony. Niech Bóg błogosławi

+ Andrzej
A[rcy]b[isku]p

Mimo chronicznego, bolesnego zapalenia stawów, którego nasilenie zmniejszało się czasami, Metropolita—o ile tylko mógł—brał udział w zjazdach Biskupów Rzeczypospolitej, a widok jego, idącego o kulach w procesji na kongresie Eucharystycznym w Poznaniu w r. 1930 głębokie na wszystkich wywołał wrażenie.[174]

26/7 27 r. pisał ze Lwowa:

In pace
Droga Siostro Krysto
Na list Twój z 24.7. otrzymany wczoraj w dzień powrotu z Welehradu zaraz[175] odpisuję... Do Rzymu jeszcze tego roku jechać nie mogę. Z biedą piszę prawą ręką, ale więcej mi ona nie służy, nawet do trzymania kuli nie może służyć, więc nie mogę używać kul, a przez to często i chodzić, albo na schody wychodzić mogę tylko z biedą i trudem.

Bądźcie Siostry dobrej myśli, wszystko się skończy pomyślnie dla Was i dla pamięci Waszej ukochanej Matki Marceliny. Proszę Boga o Łaskę dla Was... Niech Wam we wszystkim błogosławi

+ Andrzej
A[rcy]b[isku]p

173 [Bolesław Twardowski (1864–1944), Latin rite metropolitan of Lviv from 1923.]
174 [1–8 June 1930, the First Eucharistic Congress in Poland.]
175 [In 1927 the metropolitan chaired the Union congress at Velehrad (Czechoslovakia).]

16/XII 1927 kończy Metropolita list, pisany ze Lwowa, słowami:

Ze zbliżającymi się świętami Bożego Narodzenia i Nowego Roku przesyłam Wam dla całego domu i Zgromadzenia najszczersze życzenia. Oby Bóg dał, by wszystkie krzyże i doświadczenia, jakie podobało Mu się na Was zesłać, obróciły się na Jego chwałę i korzyść Waszą. Polecam się też bardzo Waszym św. modlitwom i ofiarom. Niech Cię Bóg błogosławi

+ Andrzej
A[rcy]b[isku]p

Następuje krótkie doniesienie:

In pace Lwów 27/I 28.

Droga Siostro Krysto

.... Jadę (do Rzymu) dopiero za tydzień albo za 10 dni, zrobię, co będzie możliwe... W Rzymie prawdopodobnie adres: College ruthene–piazza Madonna Monti 3. Przed Rzymem zatrzymam się pewnie ze 3 tygodnie po drodze. Niech Bóg błogosławi

+ Andrzej
A[rcy]b[isku]p

Wyjazd ten jednak opóźnił się, a tymczasem, w dzień Matki Boskiej Gromnicznej umarł nagle mój jedyny, ukochany brat. 13/2 1928 r. pisał ks. Metropolita ze Lwowa:

In pace

Moja droga Siostro Krysto!

Od śmierci naszego kochanego Olesia, która dla Ciebie tym cięższym krzyżem, że nie mogłaś nawet widzieć Matki i siostry i bratu oddać ostatniej posługi, chciałem do Ciebie pisać, by Ci choć powiedzieć, jak bardzo współczuję z Tobą. Dziś inna sprawa zmusza mnie do listu. Nie wyjechałem dotąd przeszkodzony okolicznościami, a już i do świąt nie wyjadę, za mało mi zostaje czasu. Zamierzam zaraz po świętach wyjechać.... Modlę się za Ciebie i za Was i o Wasze modlitwy proszę

+ Andrzej
A[rcy]b[isku]p

Dwa jeszcze listy poprzedzają wyjazd ks. Metropolity. Pierwszy z 22/4 28

In pace

Droga Siostro Krysto

Słowo—by Ci donieść, że oba Twe listy otrzymałem i za nie sardecznie dziękuję. Podróż moja do Rzymu opaźnia się. Teraz mam zamiar wyjechać w drugiej połowie czerwca. Mam Waszą sprawę w sercu i na pamięci... Niech Bóg błogosławi całe Zgromadzenie—Bóg z Tobą

+ Andrzej
A[rcy]b[isku]p

W drugim liście, również ze Lwowa z 22/6 28 donosi Metropolita: "Wyjeżdżam do Częstochowy na konferencję (biskupów), a po dwóch, trzech dniach do Rzymu".

Po audiencji u Ojca św. Piusa XI, pisał ks. Metropolita:

Alberghi Riuniti
Cavour—Francia—Minerva
Grande Albergo Minerva—Tozziani Elisi prop.
In pace Roma 2 lipca 1928
Droga Siostro Krysto

Wracam z audiencji u Ojca św.[176] Wręczyłem mu wasz hołd i dar,[177] wyraziłem mu waszą prośbę... Streszczam jego odpowiedź, czy wyrażenia: "J'ai conservé un très bon souvenir de leur maison à... près de Varsovie", podpowiadam: Szymanowo. "A oui, Szymanowo.[178] Elles y font un très grand bien; celà m'a plu spécialement que les Soeurs s'occupent aussi des enfants du peuple. Elles y ont un pensionnat pour les riches, ou au moins pour les gens mieux situés, mais outre celà elles ont un travail pour les enfants pauvres... Dites aux Soeurs que je serai vraiment heureux si j'ai la possibilité de les contenter", to powtórzył 3 razy, "je voudrais bien, serai très content de faire ce qu'elles désirent. Qu'elles prient, c'est la voie par laquelle elles peuvent tout obtenir, je prierai aussi, j'y penserai, reflechirai et n[ou]s verrons si je puis faire ce qu'elles désirent". "Dites leur que j'ai été touché de leur bon souvenir—je les estime beaucoup..." Zaskoczyła mnie audiencja, którą dostałem na trzeci dzień po przyjeździe... Tymczasem dowidzenia, spieszę posłać ten list... Niech Bóg Wam błogosławi, polecam się i ja Waszym świętym modlitwom.

+ Andrzej
A[rcy]b[isku]p

W następnym liście z Rzymu donosi ks. Metropolita, że był jeszcze w naszej sprawie u jednego z kardynałów, "rozumie się, że co mogłem powiedziałem o waszych zasługach, kłopotach". Dzięki jego trudom za łaską Bożą Ojciec św. przychylnie naszą prośbę załatwił.

Ze Lwowa pisał Metropolita 28.X.28

In pace
Droga Siostro Krysto

Dziękuję za list oddany mi przez W[ielebną] M[atkę] Generalną.[179] Zrobię co pragniesz. M[atka] Gen[eralna] mówiła mi, że tego dopiero będzie potrzeba, jak cała książka wyjdzie już z druku. Oczywiście, musi ks. Arcyb[iskup] Twardowski pierwsze mieć słowo. Tysiączne pozdrowienia. Niech Bóg wam błogosławi. Bardzo ucieszyłem się szczegółami, danymi mi przez M[atką] Gen[eralną] i okazją widzenia się z nią—Bóg z Tobą

+ Andrzej
A[rcy]b[isku]p

176 [Pius XI, Achille Ratti (1857–1939), pope from 1922; earlier (1918–1921), the papal nuncio in Poland.]

177 Życiorysy obu Założycielek Zgromadzenia M. Józefy Karskiej i M. Marceliny Darowskiej w przekładzie francuskim.

178 Ks. Achilles Ratti był w Szymanowie w 1918 r. zanim został jeszcze mianowany Nuncjuszem, jako wizytator Stolicy św. dla Polski.

179 Matka M[aria] Wawrzyna od Ofiarowania N[ajświętszej] M[aryi] P[anny] ówczesna przełożona Generalna Zgromadzenia [Maria Szaszkiewicz].

W prośbie, o której Metropolita wspomina, wyrażałam nasze pragnienie, by napisał list, któryby mógł być wydrukowany na wstępie życiorysów naszych Założycielek. Na pierwszym miejscu umieszczony był list Kard[ynała] Gasparriego[180] z podziękowaniem i błogosławieństwem Ojca św. po wręczeniu mu tychże życiorysów przez Ks. Metropolitę. Oto list tego ostatniego:

Przewielebna Matko!

Serdecznie dziękuję za przesłane mi piękne życiorysy Założycielek Waszego świętego Zgromadzenia.[181] Wiele w nich cennych przykładów i nauk. Z życiorysu M[atki] Marceliny ta myśl na pierwszy plan wysuwa się: w sprawie najważniejszej, modlitwie, i we wszystkich innych naszych wobec Boga i ludzi obowiązkach—nie tylko być wierną, dawać, co się Bogu i ludziom należy—ale miłośnie dawać więcej—ile tylko można najwięcej. To zdaje mi się przewodnia myśl jej życia i jej nauk. Nie wątpię, że tak jak temu można przypisać wielkie błogosławieństwo Boże, jakie z nieba spływało na nią i na jej dzieło, a przez Nią i jej dzieło na ludzi—tak też i ta myśl w Zgromadzeniu wykonana zapewni mu świętny rozwój, ogromną, owocną pracę i obfite, wielkie błogosławieństwo Boże na długie wieki. Jak długo ta myśl Matki Marceliny Darowskiej żyć będzie w Zgromadzeniu, tak długo ono istnieć, Bogu wielką chwałę, a ludziom—Kościołowi wielki pożytek przynosić będzie. Niech Bóg to sprawi w Was i w przyszłych Zgromadzenia pokoleniach

+ Andrzej

Lwów 18.V.1929 A[rcy]b[isku]p

Następne listy tyczyły się podróży Metropolity do Rzymu w r. 1929.—"Donoszę—pisze 23/6—że zmuszony (jestem) pojechać do Rzymu, by O[jcu] św. przedstawić pielgrzymkę... Konferencje biskupów i zjazdy różnych komisji często odbywają się... Bardzo proszę o modlitwy. Niech Bóg Wam błogosławi i pomaga".

"Ta podróż—dodaje 4/7- go—ciężką dla mnie i w wakacje mało co można"...

A w 4 dni później 8/7-go:

"Piszę, żeby podziękować za list i donieść, że mój adres w M.: Hotel Minerva—wyjeżdżam w czwartek rano".

Z Rzymu przyszła kartka, wysłana 22/7.

"Serdeczne pozdrowienia, błogosławieństwo Ojca św. dla Was, zakonnic, domu, dzieci, Zgromadzenia, informacje dałem...Proszę o modlitwy, Bóg z Wami. + An[drzej]".

180 [Pietro Gasparri (1852–1934), cardinal in 1907, secretary of state of the Apostolic See in 1914–1930.]

181 [The pamphlet, *M. Józefa Karska i M. Marcelina Darowska. Krótkie życiorysy* (Lviv, 1929).]

Rzewny szczegół zawarty jest w liście ze Lwowa z 28/9 29 r.

In pace

Droga Siostro Krysto

Przepraszam, że tak długo milczałem—wróciwszy z Rzymu, Marienbadu i Przyłbic z powodu zapalenia stawu w kolanie musiałem kilka tygodni leżeć; dotąd nie chodzę inaczej, jak o kulach. W Rzymie... byłem u kard[ynała] Lepiciera[182] (mieszka na 3-im piętrze bez liftu)"—(nie zawahał się Ks. Metropolita, o czym tylko nawiasem wspomina, wejść z trudem i bólem fizycznym na 3-ie piętro, byle nam przysługę oddać). "Zaraz po 15.X. jadę znowu do Rzymu na konferencję biskupów. Tam będę krótko siedział, ale może mi się uda być u kardynała. Bogu Was polecam, a siebie waszym modlitwom. Za zwłokę jeszcze raz przepraszam, ale miałem i mam wiele spraw i kłopotów—Bóg z wami

+ Andrzej
A[rcy]b[isku]p

Życzliwe nastawienie i niesienie pomocy drugim było jedną z cech Metropolity, a nie tylko nas się tyczyło. Pani Włodarczuk, krewna jednej z Sióstr II chóru prosiła nas kiedyś o pośrednictwo u niego. Metropolita odpisuje:

In pace Lwów 10.4.31

Odpisuję na Twój list i na prośbę p. Niny Włodarczuk. Niech jej brat czy jego rodzice napiszą podanie po końcu kursu. Stypendia, jeśli jakie są do dania, to tylko w wakacje, bo wtedy są wolne. Chętnie przyjmujemy prawosławnych, tem chętniej prawosławnych już nawróconych, ale konkurs podających się o stypendia tak wielki, że zapewnienia naprzód niepodobna dać. W tej sprawie obiecać mogę przychylnie o sprawie pamiętać.

Proszę bardzo o modlitwy Twoje i Sióstr i Bogu Was polecam

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A[rcy]b[isku]p

W rok później w tej samej sprawie Metropolita dyktuje list 22/9 (1932) w Podlutym i podpisuje go lewą ręką—pisać wcale nie może.

Droga Siostro Krysto

Za Włodarczuka przez cały rok płaciłem i choć to mi coraz trudniej, bo staje się czasem wprost niemożliwem podołać wszystkim wydatkom, gotów bym dalej płacić—ale według tego, co donoszą mi przełożeni, nie ma żadnych szans przejść przez gimnazjum i dostać się do seminarium, albo mało zdolności albo zaniedbanie w naukach—albo spóźniony wiek ma być tego przyczyną. Jak wrócę do Lwowa, jeszcze wglądnę w tę sprawę.

Proszę o modlitwy i serdecznie pozdrawiam—niech Bóg błogosławi

+ Andrzej
A[rcy]b[isku]p m[etro]p[olita]

182 [Alexis Lepicier (1863–1936), cardinal from 1927, prefect of the Congregation of Monastic Orders.]

Obracając wszelkie dochody na cele społeczne i kształcenie młodzieży, Metropolita wiódł życie bardzo skromne. Ktoś zaproszony raz przypadkowo na "biskupi" obiad, ze zdziwieniem ale i zbudowaniem mówił o tym—a sutanna jego—habit bazyliański—była nieraz wyświecona. Gdy raz byłam u niego zauważył i podziwiał sposób cerowania mego szkaplerza (w czym nasze Siostry celują). "Komfort—to skorupa między duszą a Bogiem" powiedział kiedyś. Powtarzał też zdanie jakiegoś lekarza niemieckiego. "Najwięcej chorób powstaje ze zbytku jedzenia" ("von der Vielfresserei").

Zawracam teraz do dawniejszych listów Metropolity, bo choć zasadniczo nie przynosza nic nowego, są odbiciem wewnętrznego jego życia i ukochania we wszystkim woli Bożej, co mu jednało uznanie nawet przeciwników.

Pisał ze Lwowa 21/12 1929

In pace

Droga Siostro Krysto!

Nie odpisałem dotąd na Twój list 24/X. Dziś przede wszystkim chcę Tobie i Wam wszystkim i całemu Zgromadzeniu przesłać najszczersze życzenia świąt i Nowego Roku 1930. Niech Bóg zakończy ciężkie doświadczenia, jakie zesłał na Was i niech Wam da łaskę ten ciężki krzyż tak święcie przyjmować by z niego i przezeń spływały potoki łaski błogosławieństwa Bożego... Przyjmując ten krzyż więcej osiągniesz dla Zgromadzenia...ja jestem przekonany, że swemu zakonowi więcej możemy wyprosić łaski z nieba prosząc np. o święte powołania do innych zakonów, albo dziękczynieniem za łaski udzielone innym, jak tymi samymi modlitwami za swój zakon czy Zgromadzenie, bo w tych pierwszych aktach czystsza miłość do Boga.

W Rzymie byłem tak zajęty sprawami konferencji biskupów, że nie mogłem być u kard[ynała] Lepiciera, leżałem w łóżku i nie miałem specjalnego polecenia być u niego. Nie byłem też na zebraniu biskupiego komitetu w Warszawie... Polecając się waszym świętym modlitwom i ofiarom—niech Bóg błogosławi całemu Zgromadzeniu

+ Andrzej
A[rcy]b[isku]p

In pace Lwów 5/3 1930

Moja droga Siostro Krysto!

Wstyd mi, że dotąd nie odpisałem na Twój list jeszcze 4/I pisany, byłem długo chory, miałem skrzep i długo leżałem w łóżku. Podziękuj w moim imieniu i W[ielebnej] Matce Wawrzynie za jej list i życzenia... Dawno nie byłem w Warszawie...w czerwcu tego roku jest konferencja biskupów w Poznaniu przed eucharystycznym kongresem, mam nadzieję tam być....

Polecam się bardzo św. modlitwom, o Was nigdy nie zapominam. Niech Pan Bóg da Wam łaskę korzystania z tego krzyża, jaki Wam daje i przebycia tej próby

+ Andrzej
A[rcy]b[isku]p

W zdrowiu ks. Metropolity nastąpiło pogorszenie—króciutkie słowo przesyła pisząc lewą ręką 2/V 30—tak samo—i tylko ołówkiem—pisze ze Lwowa 30/V 32.

In pace
Droga Siostro Krysto
Serdecznie dziękuję za list i życzenia świąt. Przepraszam, że piszę ołówkiem, ale w łóżku i lewą ręką, nie mogę lepiej. Modlę się za Was. W sprawie trzeba dużo modlitw, idą czasy prześladowań i męczeństwa. Bóg z Wami. Proszę o modlitwy

+ Andrzej
A[rcy]b[isku]p

Co miał na myśli Metropolita pisząc ostatnie słowa—powtórzy je później raz jeszcze—nie zapytałam go niestety o to. Czy, przeczuwając zawieruchę wojenną w związku z nią lękał się o zwłoki św. Jozafata w Białej Podlaskiej?[183] Nie wiem, ale zarządził w tych latach, w porozumieniu ze Stolicą św. przewiezienie ich do Wiednia i złożenie w cerkwi unickiej św. Barbary. O ile pamiętam, O[jciec] Demczuk należał do Komisji, która je rozpoznała i przewiozła—razem z ks. Kocyłowskim,[184] późniejszym biskupem przemyskim.

Na wiadomość o śmierci Matki Wawrzyny Metropolita dyktuje list O[jcu] Klemensowi i lewą ręką kładzie na nim swój podpis.

PX Podlute 31/7 1932
p. Perechińsko

Droga Siostro Krysto!
Przyjm i w moim imieniu oświadcz wszystkim Siostrom moje najszczersze współczucie z powodu śmierci Waszej Matki Przełożonej Generalnej. Mój list trochę spóźniony—bo jak widzisz—nie piszę ze Lwowa, a z gór, dokąd mi telegram odesłano pocztą—która b[ardzo] długo idzie.

Za duszę zmarłej modlę się, choć jestem przekonany, że po tylu latach św[iętego] życia podług Ewangelii—poszła po dobrze zasłużoną nagrodę do Pana.

Bardzo gorąco polecam się i ja Waszym modlitwom, zasyłam najserdeczniejsze pozdrowienia—Bóg z Wami

+ Andrzej
A[rcy]b[isku]p

(Dopisek)
I ode mnie, przyjm proszę, droga Siostro Krysto, wyrazy współczucia dla Ciebie i Waszego Zgromadzenia—a o pamięć w modlitwach dla siebie i swoich braci[185] pokornie proszę

ks. Klemens

[183] [The body of St. Josaphat, Uniate archbishop of Połack (ca. 1550–1623), was transferred from Biała in Podlachia to the Greek Catholic St. Barbara Church in Vienna in 1915, where it remained until 1949 when it was placed in St. Peter's Basilica in the Vatican.]
[184] [Josafat Kocylovs'kyj (1876–1946), Basilian, Greek Catholic bishop of Peremyšl' from 1916.]
[185] Studytów.

W styczniu 1933 r. wyjechałam do Słonimia,[186] a stamtąd do Jarosławia—tam otrzymałam następujący list:

In pace Podlute 26/9 1934

Droga Siostro Krysto

Jeszcze nie podziękowałem Ci za cenną broszurę z zajmującymi historycznymi wiadomościami o Słonimskim klasztorze.[187] Robię to tym listem, a przy tej sposobności przesyłam Ci zapewnienie, że o Was w modlitwach pamiętam... Pamiętaj o mnie, a więcej jeszcze o diecezji w swoich modlitwach. Dużo mam kłopotów. Straszna rzecz odpowiadać przed Bogiem za dusze odkupione krwią Ch(rystusową).

Widzisz, że piszę lewą ręką. Niech Bóg wam błogosławi

+ Andrzej
A[rcy]b[isku]p

Dodam tu szczegół z potocznego życia. Krzysia Szeptycka, piąta córka mej siostry, która od V kl. gimnazjum była w Jazłowcu, przeniosła się do Jarosławia, gdzie w 1935 zdała maturę. Egzamin jej tak piśmienny (o obowiązkach w dalszym życiu w stosunku do Państwa), jak ustny (rozwinęła m[iędzy] i[nnymi] podwójny dramat w "Nieboskiej Komedii",[188] innych przedmiotów nie pamiętam) wypadł tak świetnie, że delegat kuratorium zwrócił na to uwagę. Za następną swą bytnością w Jarosławiu, dopytywał się o Krzysię, wspominając jej maturę. W związku z egzaminami, gdy Krzysia, czy ktoś z jej rodzeństwa wyraził przed ks. Metropolitą swój lęk: "obawiam się zryć!", ten ucieszył się niezmiernie tym wyrażeniem: "Jakże mi to miłe—zawołał—że wy tak samo mówicie w szkołach, jak za moich czasów!"

W Słonimiu, gdzie znów następne dwa lata spędziłam, otrzymałam wiadomość o nagłej śmierci mej najdroższej Matki w Przyłbicach 4.I.1937 r. w wilię zamierzonego obchodu jej 75-lecia. Zaraz po pogrzebie w Siemianicach—Inka przyjechała do mnie—przywożąc mi mowy, którymi była nad trumną żegnana, a wśród nich rzewne przemówienie fornala w imieniu tak bardzo ją kochającego ludu. 26/I pisał do mnie ze Lwowa Metropolita.

186 [The monastery of the Immaculate Sisters at Słonim, founded in 1906–1907 after the promulgation of the religious tolerance ukaz in Russia; a teachers' seminary and a general education high school were associated with the monastery in 1914–1939.]

187 [Sister Krysta Szembek's work, "Z dziejów klasztoru Panien Benedyktynek słonimskich," published in *Przegląd Współczesny* (Cracow), 13, no. 145 (1934): 247–65.]

188 [*Nieboska komedia* (The non-divine comedy), the most outstanding work (1835) by Zygmunt Krasiński (1812–1859), one of the most valued Polish poets of the Romantic period.]

In pace

Kochana Siostro Krysto

I ja wybierałem się pisać do Ciebie po śmierci Twojej ukochanej Matki, mówię wybierałem się, żeby wyrazić trudności złączone dla mnie z każdą, choćby małą i miłą pracą. Wyprzedziłaś mnie, choć w modlitwie byliśmy razem i w Przyłbicach i Siemianicach w czasie pogrzebu i wtedy, kiedy Inka była u Ciebie w Słonimiu, byłem sercem i modlitwą z Wami. Ta nagła, choć przygotowana i nie niespodziewana śmierć wielką boleścią dla nas wszystkich, dla Ciebie ciężkim krzyżem, którego nie zmniejsza duch ofiary, z jakim go przyjmujesz. Oczywiście wielką pociechą to ta pewność ufności, że Bóg był jej Ojcem. Tak zresztą wyraźnym znakiem tej łaski była sama śmierć i jej okoliczności. Ten przyjazd do Przyłbic w 10 czy 12 dni przed śmiercią jak na pożegnanie i śmierć wśród swoich taka prawie lekka. Bogu za wszystko dzięki.

Tak dawno nie mam od Was wiadomości, choć to wiem, że wszystkie, albo bodaj główne troski musiały minąć. Jakżebym się cieszył, gdybyś mogła kiedyś być we L[wowie], może przy okazji przeniesienia. Muszę kończyć, bo ręka odmawia dalszej służby. Ciężkie, straszne czasy nas czekają—przygotować się na nie—to zadanie życia. Bóg z Tobą, droga Siostro Krysto. Pamiętaj o mnie w swoich modlitwach, ja nigdy o Tobie nie zapominam, co dzień modlę się za Ciebie i za Was

+ Andrzej

A[rcy]b[isku]p m[etro]p[olita]

Śmierć mej Matki była rzeczywiście wielką boleścią dla nas—nie wiedziałyśmy podówczas, jak niebawem będziemy Bogu dziękować za to, że nie dożyła wojny i strasznych z nią związanych przejść rodzinnych i narodowych.

Blisko Słonimia leżały Żyrowice[189] z cudownym obrazem Matki Boskiej koronowanym za czasów unii w dawnej Rzeczpospolitej przez metropolitę Atanazego Szeptyckiego—i Albertyn,[190] gdzie pracowali OO. Jezuici obu obrządków. Na wyraźne życzenie Ojca św. Piusa XI kilku Jezuitów przyjęło obrządek wschodni, by pracować nad nawracaniem schyzmatyków. W klasztorze naszym i jedni i drudzy Ojcowie bywali często spowiadając Siostry i uczennice. Opowiadał me jeden z nich, że gdy późniejszy przełożony misji wschodniej[191] pojechał do Metropolity, by się z nim porozumieć w sprawie pracy unijnej, ten mu powiedział: "Daję Ojcu carte blanche" i błogosławił mu na pracę. Było to jeszcze przed założeniem placówki, gdy nie było wiadomym, że na mocy konkordatu, będzie

[189] [Basilian monastery in Belorussia, Uniate from the early seventeenth century to the 1830s.]

[190] [Albertyn—a mission of the Eastern rite Jesuits in Belorussia, founded in 1924 by the Reverend Charles Bourgeois. It consisted of a monastic novitiate, a parish, and the editorial board of the journal *Da złučennia*. In the 1930s the mission was sharply attacked by the Polish press, which accused it of activities contrary to the Polish raison d'état.]

[191] [Father Charles Bourgeois or Father Włodzimierz Piątkiewicz (1865–1933), superior of the Eastern mission of the Jesuits at Albertyn in 1925–1933.]

zależna—tak jak cała praca unijna na kresach—od biskupów diecezjalnych łacińskich a nie od Metropolity, jako spadkobiercy Metropolitów kijowskich. Ze strony wielu Polaków mieli Ojcowie dużo do wycierpienia. Obrządek był nieco odmienny od unickiego, nie uwzględniono bowiem w liturgii zmian, przyjętych po unii brzeskiej, aby zmniejszyć różnicę dla prawosławnych.

Dwa ostatnie lata przed wojną przebyłam w Jarosławiu. Znów mnie ktoś prosił o jakieś pośrednictwo i znów z całą dobrocią Metropolita odpisuje:

In pace Podlute 19/8 37

Droga S. Krysto

Dziękuję za list. Poleconej wdowie będę się starał wyrobić pensję wdowią. Cieszę się, że w Jarosł[awiu] używasz na pokoju i skupieniu, módl się za mnie i diecezję. Niech Bóg błogosławi—tysiączne ukłony—o Was zawsze pamiętam w modlitwach

+ Andrzej
A[rcy]b[isku]p

Mimo ciężkiej choroby i ogromnej pracy, Metropolita pisał jeszcze wykład modlitwy "Ojcze nasz" p. t. "O mądrości Bożej".[192] Dwie pierwsze części dał Jędrusiowi[193] do biblioteki przyłbickiej—syntezę miała zawierać ostatnia część. Czy ją napisał? Nie wiem. Nie mogę odżałować, żem go nie prosiła o podarowanie mi egzemplarza—może zapomniał, że czytałam po rusku. Do archiwum przyłbickiego przeznaczał również list Arcybiskupa Teodorowicza,[194] podobno prześliczny, jaki Arcybiskup napisał do niego z okazji jego jubileuszu, czy innej, z całym zrozumieniem i głębokim uznaniem wspominając długoletnią wspólną pracę w Archidiecezji Lwowskiej.

Gdy Jędruś postanowił w r. 1938 oddać się Bogu na służbę, zwrócił się do ks. Metropolity z zapytaniem, czy wstąpienie do seminarium łacińskiego we Lwowie nie utrudni Metropolicie pracy wobec Ukraińców? Metropolita nie miał żadnych zastrzeżeń i błogosławił mu z radością na nową drogę życia. I Jędruś nie obawiał się późniejszych trudności—pragnął (jak mi mówił) pokazać w przyszłej pracy kapłańskiej, jaki stosunek powinien łączyć oba obrządki na wspólnym, parafialnym terenie. Bóg rozrządził inaczej. . .

192 ["Boža mudrist'" (Divine wisdom) was printed in *L'vivs'ki arxieparxijal'ni vidomosti* (1933). See A. Šeptyc'kyj, *Tvory asketyčno-moral'ni* (Rome, 1978).]

193 [Andrzej Szeptycki, son of Leon.]

194 [Józef Teodorowicz (1864–1938), Armenian metropolitan of Lviv from 1902. He was an outstanding writer and preacher and a right-wing Polish political activist.]

Mówił mi ks. Tadeusz Fedorowicz[195] o dwóch niezatartych wspomnieniach, jakie wyniósł w związku z pracą duszpasterską ks. Metropolity. Pierwszym było nabożeństwo wielkoczwartkowe w katedrze św. Jura, na którym—jeszcze przed wstąpieniem do seminarium—był z Jasiem.[196] Celebrował Metropolita, który, "w szatach liturgicznych, z siwą brodą, wyglądał, jak dawny patriarcha". Gdy, po mszy św., wśród śpiewu wersetów ewangelii, umywał nogi kanonikom kapituły, klękając przed nimi, czynił to z takim namaszczeniem i z taką pokorą, że przenikało to wszystkich do głębi. Nieco później, Tadeusz Fedorowicz poszedł z innym kolegą[197] do katadry świętojurskiej na zakończenie rekolekcji dla alumnów. Przed komunią św. przemawiał Metropolita siedząc, bo już z nogami było gorzej. Przemawiał tak, że obaj koledzy wyznali z przejęciem, że dawno takich słów nie słyszeli.

I mnie uderzało zawsze, jeszcze przed wstąpieniem do klasztoru, skupienie, przejawiające się w twarzy i ruchach Metropolity w czasie Mszy św., od chwili, gdy przystępował do ołtarza—jakieś głębokie zjednoczenie z Bogiem, które słowami opisać się nie da, a które pomagało obecnym do modlitwy. "Gdy był przy ołtarzu—czuło się obecność Bożą"—wspominała kiedyś Matka Jozafata.[198] Modlitwa była rzeczywiście treścią życia Metropolity, dlatego drugich do tego nakłaniał. W jednym z dawniejszych listów do mnie (18.XI.1924 r.) pisał:

> Przede wszystkim trzeba Wam usilnie i pokornie modlić się, prosić Boga. . .by Jego wola we wszystkim stała się, modlić się z prawdziwą na wszystko obojętnością, z gotowością zrzec się, poświęcić wszystko, nawet wam najdroższe,. . . a co nie jest Bogiem, wedle słów: "Nie ma nic dla mnie prócz Boga".[199] Ten ustęp o duchu ubóstwa wydaje mi się wspaniałym: "Pracować zatem Siostry będą szczerze i sumiennie nad wyniszczeniem w sobie. . .przywiązania ludzkiego do tego nawet, co najchwalebniejsze, do samych obowiązków. . .do samej modlitwy i jej pociech. . .do natury swej i osobistości. . ." "Ubóstwo jest ogołoceniem ze wszystkiego, co stworzone." Tę prawdę, czy raczej cnotę wykonujcie, ze względu na samo Zgromadzenie, jego konstytucje, tradycje, na wszystko, co w nim wam miłe, drogie, cenne—poświęćcie wszystko, żeby Boga mieć i w Nim wszystko odnaleść.

195 [Tadeusz Fedorowicz (b. in 1907), activist in the Catholic students' organization Odrodzenie ("Renaissance") in Lviv, Latin rite priest from 1935, canon of the Lviv cathedral chapter at Lubaczów.]

196 [Jan Szeptycki, son of Leon.]

197 [Stefan Świeżawski (b. 1907), then an activist in the student movement, Odrodzenie. In 1946–1976 he was professor of philosophy at the Catholic University of Lublin. He was an auditor at the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965).]

198 [Zofia Szeptycka, daughter of Leon.]

199 Metropolita odczytywał podówczas nasze konstytucje z komentarzami Matki Marceliny—słowa, które przytaczał, wzięte były z tychże komentarzy.

Zbliżała się chwila, kiedy Metropolita miał sam przeżyć całkowite ogołocenie ze wszystkiego, co mu było drogie i święte—ujrzeć pracę swego życia zdruzgotaną, zdeptaną, unicestwioną—po ludzku biorąc.

Z Jarosławia dojeżdżałam kilka razy do Lwowa i bywałam wówczas u ks. Metropolity. Już nie mógł chodzić. Przyjmował na wózku i tak się przed nim po raz ostatni w życiu spowiadałam. W czasie jednej bytności mówił mi, że zakonnica powinna wszędzie naokoło siebie dobrze czynić, na wzór św. Piotra, którego cień uzdrawiał chorych.

Rozmawiałam też raz z nim o Matce Makrynie Mieczysławskiej. "To był dziwny typ—powiedział—Mówili mi OO. Zmartwychwstańcy, że była nieraz rubaszna w wyrażeniach, jak jakaś wiejska gospodyni"—ale nigdy nie wyrażał wątpliwości, nawet po broszurze O[jca] Urbana, że była prawdziwą bazylianką.[200]

Z moją siostrą byłam raz na Mszy św. Metropolity. Wózek przysuwano bokiem do ołtarza w kaplicy urządzonej przy jego sypialni. Podeszłyśmy do ołtarza, przy którym, towarzyszący mu przy Mszy św. O[jciec] bazylianin, dał nam komunię św. Po Mszy św., widziałam długie, głębokie zamodlenie Metropolity. Było to wkrótce po Wielkanocy 1939 r. Jakże radosny był nastrój na Zielonej[201] —przebywał tam Franek Potworowski, narzeczony Krzysi, z którym dłużej rozmawiałam i który mi obiecał "być zawsze dla niej dobrym". Rozpromieniony Leoś wodził za rękę malutkiego Pawła,[202] syna Jasia, który na kilka dni powierzył go "dziadkom". Po południu przyszedł Jędruś, jako kleryk—dopiero co był otrzymał mianowanie na oficera i w księdze, w której podpisaliśmy się wszyscy, jak zawsze u Leosiów przy rodzinnych zjazdach, on dodał: "oficer w sutannie". Zjechali byli: Oleś z Łaszczowa[203] i Stasiowie—Po raz ostatni zeszło się 5-ciu braci u św. Jura.

200 [Irena Julia Makryna Mieczysławska (Belorussian, Iryna Julija Miečysłaŭskaja (1784[?]–1869), the prioress of the monastery of Basilian sisters in Minsk from 1823, according to the autobiographical record. According to the findings of historians, including the Reverend Jan Urban, SJ (*Matka Makryna Mieczysławska w świetle prawdy* [Cracow, 1923]), she was an ex-Jewish convert from Belorussia. After the death of her husband, she tried to convince people to help her by alleging that she was a nun persecuted by the Russian authorities during the extirpation of the Union. Arrested in 1840, she fled to Rome in 1845. As prioress of the monastery of the Basilian sisters there, she played a prominent role in the political and religious life of the Polish émigré community and fought against Russian influence in the papal entourage.]

201 [Leon Szeptycki, the metropolitan's youngest brother, lived on Zelena Street in Lviv.]

202 [Paweł Szeptycki (b. 1935), son of Leon and Zofia, daughter of the margrave Wielopolski. He is now professor of mathematics at the University of Kansas, Lawrence.]

203 Izia Olesiowa już nie żyła; mówił mi kiedyś O[jciec] Woroniecki [Jacek Woroniecki (1879–1949), Dominican, philosopher, and Thomist theologian, professor at the Catholic

O zbliżającej się wojnie nie było jeszcze mowy—tylko siostra moja mówiła mi o jakimś ślepym chłopie jasnowidzu, który pojawił się koło Lwowa i na wszelkie zapytania co do przyszłości, odpowiadał: "Wszystko wokoło mnie czerwone, widzę krew, krew, krew. . ."

I Metropolita nie wspominał wówczas—jak poprzednio w listach—o nadchodzącej burzy. Gdy mówiłam mu o niebezpieczeństwie, jakie grozi Ukraińcom, jeśli się nie oprą na Polakach, zażartował: "Muszę napisać do Warszawy, by cię zrobili ministrem". Z jakim jednak smutkiem stwierdził: "Tak, ale Polacy muszą zmienić swoje ustosunkowanie"—i przytoczył różne bolesne fakty. Zakrycie przyszłości—jaka to wielka nieraz łaska Boża! Doznaliśmy tego podówczas w tym przypadkowym zjeździe rodzinnym, gdy wszystko tchnęło pokojem i Bożą atmosferą, a czytając ostatnie listy Jozafaty i Wandy[204] do rodziców, wydawało się, że i one są wśród nas.

Okres prób i trudności Zgromadzenia był już minął—rozszerzała się teraz cześć cudownego posągu Najśw[iętszej] Maryi Panny Jazłowieckiej, a miała być uwieńczona koronacją 9.VII.1939 r. Prośbę o koronację podpisał był razem z wszystkimi biskupami Polski—Metropolita, a promotor koronacji O[jciec] Konstanty Żukiewicz O. P. pisał później, że "podpis jego uważa za jeden z najcenniejszych". Dekret koronacyjny wydał jako pierwszy swój akt miłości dla Polski Ojciec św. Pius XII.[205] Matka Zenona, ówczesna Generalna Przełożona Zgromadzenia zaprosiła na koronację i ks. Metropolitę—jako unieruchomiony od lat 8-iu nie mógł jednak przybyć, odpowiedział tylko pięknym, serdecznym listem, że będzie się łączyć z nami w dniu uroczystości, a mnie powiedział: "Więcej wam pomogę modlitwą niż przyjazdem". Najśw[iętsza] Panna Jazłowiecka miała zgromadzić u swych stóp ludność polską i ukraińską, oddającą jej hołd w największej miłości i jedności. Wśród episkopatu polskiego był biskup Latyszewski,[206] grecko-katolicki sufragan stanisławowski—a po skończonym obrzędzie procesja z wizerunkiem cudownego posągu witana była przed cerkwią a później przed kościołem i brzmiały naprzemian śpiewy liturgiczne obu obrządków. Takie to jeszcze bliskie, a takie morze bólu, łez i krwi oddzieliło nas od tego dnia. . .

University of Lublin (1919–1929) and the Angelicum in Rome (1929–1933)], że przed śmiercią obdarzona była od Boga mistycznymi łaskami.

204 [Wanda Szeptycka (b. 1910), daughter of Leon, a Franciscan, Missionary of Mary. She has lived in Damascus, Syria, since 1939, teaching in a monastic school.]

205 [Pius XIII, Eugenio Pacelli (1876–1958), pope from 1939.]

206 [Ivan Latyševs'kyj (1879–1957), bishop suffragan of Stanyslaviv from 1930, arrested in 1945 and imprisoned by Soviet authorities.]

Z Sącza, dokąd to pojechałam w drugiej połowie sierpnia, napisałam do Metropolity—niebawem otrzymałam odpowiedź.

Lwów 22.VIII.1939 r.

Droga Siostro Krysto

Serdecznie dziękuję za list, fotografię cudownej statuy N[ajświętszej] P[anny] Jazł[owieckiej] i artykuł. Modlę się za całe Zgrom[adzenie], a osobliwie za N[owy] Sącz i przełożoną domu. Bóg z Wami, proszę o modlitwy

+ Andrzej

W niespełna 10 dni później,[207] Niemcy wkroczyli do Polski, a w tymże miesiącu wrześniu wojska radzieckie zajęły Lwów i Przyłbice. Żałobą okryła się Polską. Żałobą okryła się rodzina nasza. Przeszłość bezpowrotnie rozpadła się w gruzy.

* * *

Po wkroczeniu Niemców do Lwowa, otrzymałam w lipcu 1941 r. list wspólny od Metropolity i O[jca] Klemensa, list pisany w łączącym nas bólu po śmierci Leosiów. List ten wolałam jednak na razie spalić. Wspominali o własnych ciężkich przejściach, kilkakrotnym niebezpieczeństwie rozstrzelania, od którego P[an] Bóg ich ochronił—masakrze we Lwowie, w której tysiące ludzi, Polaków i Ukraińców, w okropny sposób zginęło. O. Klemens pisał o swej bytności w Przyłbicach, gdzie z miejscowym proboszczem odprawił, z uczestnictwem ludu, modły nad grobem naszych Najdroższych.[208]

Niestety, jad, z którym weszli Niemcy, przemieniając stopniowo Ukraińców w zbrodniarzy, był gorszy od wszystkich dotychczasowych przejść.

Gdy Hania i Izia Szeptyckie[209] pojechały w grudniu do Lwowa, pisała do mnie Hania, powróciwszy do Korczyny. (20.XII.1941 r.): "Stryjowie obaj zdrowi i taka tam (tj. u ks. Metropolity, u którego mieszkały) pogodna, miła, nieziemska atmosfera. Mówiłyśmy Stryjciowi Metropolicie to, co Ciocia chciała o Jazłowcu,[210] ale, niestety, zdaje się, że nic na to nie da się poradzić,"[211] a Izia dodawała: "Stryjowie kazali Cioci przesłać dużo serdeczności".

[207] [1 September 1939.]

[208] [In Prylbyči, the NKVD shot the metropolitan's brother, Leon, and his wife.]

[209] [Anna and Elżbieta Szeptycki, Leon's daughters.]

[210] W Jazłowcu Siostry doznawały wiele przykrości od władz i miały ciężkie przeżycia.

[211] "Narodne deputaty" jeszcze w r. 1940 uchwaliły zniesieni klasztorów—przeciw czemu Metropolita złożył protest, ale to wykazuje ich wrogi stosunek do religii.

W maju 1942 r. pisał do mnie ks. Metropolita:

In pace Lwów 13.V.42

Droga Siostro Krysto!

Choć mało kiedy pisuję, i choć nie obchodzisz pro foro externo święta św. Zofii, piszę, by przesłać Ci kilka słów życzeń i kilka próśb. Życzenia powtórzeniem codziennych moich modlitw za Ciebie, Wasz dom i całe Zgromadzenie, znasz je, bo i ty pewnie o to samo prosisz—o świętość, o świętych—o to wszystko, czego potrzeba do osiągnięcia, czy otrzymania tych darów z nieba. A prośby—byś nie zapominała w swoich modlitwach o mnie i moich intencjach. Cieszyłbym się wiadomościami o Was—i o Tobie. Wielki, wspólny wasz krzyż należy już do przeszłości. Ale nowych nie brak i dobrze, że tak jest—bo to jednak w życiu najlepsze, Bóg z Tobą i z Wami

+ Andrzej
A[rcy]b[isku]p M[etro]p[olita]

"Uważam—pisał Metropolita w wielkanocnym numerze Archidiecezjalnych Wiadomości 1943 r.—zwyczaj przesyłania na święta, imieniny, urodziny, przyjaciołom, znajomym i osobom, które poważamy, nie mając sposobności spotykania się z nimi często, szczerych wyrazów życzeń, za bardzo dobry zwyczaj, którego strzec należy, jeżeli życzenia pochodzą ze szczerego serca—to należy do objawów chrześcijańskiej, a nawet ludzkiej miłości bliźniego".[212] Jakże te słowa, które mimo trudności w pisaniu, wprowadzał w czyn, charakterystyczne są dla Metropolity.

Do listu jego do mnie dopisywał O. Klemens.

Droga Siostro Krysto!

Korzystam, że stronica jeszcze biała, żeby się dopisać. Kiedy ostatni raz widzieliśmy się na Zielonej—czy mogliśmy przypuszczać tę wielką ruinę całej przeszłości, która nadciągała, a już była tak blisko i wszystko pochłonęła i Zieloną i Siemianice i Przyłbice—i życie Leosiów. Przeszłość ziemska zniszczona, ale to, co było w niej Boże trwa dalej—i przyszłość tego wszystkiego, co duchowe niezniszczalna. Więc "umnożajmy" w naszych życiach tylko to, co Boże, co duchowe—a w P[anu] Bogu wszystko odnajdziemy, co tu zdaje się stracone—odnajdziemy w stopniu nieskończenie lepszym—pełnym tylko życia i szczęścia i światła. Tylko aby do Boga się dostać pomimo naszych wszystkich nędz—ale to już rzecz i sztuka P[ana] Jezusa. Św. Zofia jest Jego dniem—więc i życzenia na św. Zofię trzeba przesyłać i tym, co w klastorze imię swoje zmieniły.[213] Bardzo więc szczere i serdeczne pozdrowienia, życzenia—a przede wszystkim prośba o dalsze modlitwy—a obietnica wzajemności—Bóg z Wami wszystkimi

Ks. Klemens

[212] [See *Krakivs'ki visti*, no. 17 (Cracow, 1943); and *Pys'ma-poslannja Mytropolyta Andreja Šeptyc'koho ČSVV z časiv nimec'koji okupaciji*, vol. 11 (Yorkton, Sask., 1969), p. 372.]
[213] T. j. Matce Jozafacie, do której O. Klemens równocześnie pisał i mnie.

Kilka dni później, 30.V.1942 r. pisała Hania:

We Lwowie byłyśmy z Izią 6 dni—Stryjowie zdrowi. Stryjcio Metropolita zjeżdża co dzień windą do ogrodu i jeździ tam wózkiem pod kwitnącymi jabłoniami. We Lwowie bardzo smutno. . .Załączam obrazek od Stryjcia Metropolity—nie wiem, czy Ciocia taki ma—św. Jan z Dukli u OO. bernardynów, malowany przez Babcię.

18.VIII tegoż roku Hania donosi:

Przysłała nam kiedyś (z Przyłbic) Olga nowennę do św. Judy Tadeusza, patrona des causes perdues—wiedziałyśmy już o tym od Stryjcia Metropolity, który do niego ma zawdze nabożeństwo (jeszcze z czasów przedwojennych).

W marcu następnego roku pisał O. Klemens:

PX Lwów 5.3.1943

Wielebna i droga Matko Krysto!

Bardzo serdecznie Ci dziękuję za Twój list—i pamięć przed Bogiem. Rzeczywiście śmierć nie pozwala, abyśmy o niej zapomnieli—takie obfite zbiera pokosy. Jakie to jednak szczęście, że dla nas chrześcijan P[an] Jezus swoją śmiercią na krzyżu przemienił naszą śmierć z kary na *sen* odpoczynku i przejścia do prawdziwego życia.

U nas jeszcze po dawnemu—K[siądz] M[etropolita] Bogu dzięki trzyma się i może jeszcze po dawnemu nawet intensywnie pracować. Ja czem raz więcej czuję, że starość nie szczędzi umysłowych władz—moja pamięć tak zanika formalnie, że jednego pięknego poranku nie będę pamiętał, jak sam się nazywam i jak mam się podpisać. Czas niezadługo pójść do "starych", do wszystkich swoich, których tam coraz więcej, a tu coraz mniej—a przede wszystkim czas i tęsknota, żeby z brudów ziemi—oczy przenieść na Piękno i Dobroć Boga.

Ot, kochana Matko Krysto, jakiś niewesoły mój list—tylko o śmierci mówi—ale śmierć to nie smutna rzecz. Pełno serdecznych pozdrowień. I u nas wielka radość z powodu Kazika.[214] Trzech moich księży[215] jeszcze w takim położeniu, w jakim on był—i nic nie wiedzieć, jak im pomóc—chociaż żadnej winy nie ma.

Kończyć trzeba—jutro jadę do naszego jednego klasztoru przez pierwszy tydzień postu dawać rekolekcje—proszę o modlitwy i wzajemnie obiecuję

Wasz w X[rystu]sie Panu
Ks. Klemens

Czytając listy O. Klemensa, odnosiłam wrażenie, że to jakby krótkie monologi, wypływające z jego oddanej Bogu duszy. W czasie pierwszych lat wojny, kiedy nam w Sączu było bardzo ciężko pod względem wyżywienia, przyjeżdżały do nas 2 czy 3 razy Siostry—zdaje się Studytki—grecko-Katolickiego obrządku, z okolicy, mówiły mi, że O. Klemens jest ich najwyższym Ihumenem, że wysłał kilku Studytów do Bośni i że im polecił pomagać nam, gdyby zaszła potrzeba. Miały gospodarstwo i przywoziły nam trochę słoniny, co w owych czasach było bardzo cenne.

214 Kazik [Jan Kazimierz] Szeptycki wypuszczony był z więzienia niemieckiego.

215 Studytów.

Praca Ks. Metropolity, o której O. Klemens wspomina, była rzeczywiście intensywna, a toczyła się w dwu kierunkach: korzystając z okupacji niemieckiej, obejmującej nie tylko ziemie Rzeczpospolitej, ale i daleki Wschód, nawiązał stosunki z ukraińskimi prawosławnymi duchownymi i świecką inteligencją, pragnąc przez "porozumienie" doprowadzić do jedności wiary—z drugiej strony, widząc, z rozdarciem serca, szerzące się zło we własnej archidiecezji, szukał sposobów, by je powstrzymać. W tym celu od. r. 1940 zwoływał do Lwowa synody duchowieństwa, by różnymi uchwałami podnieść jego poziom. Osobną sesję poświęcił coraz częstszym mordom po wsiach—lecz jakże bolesnym jest wyznanie, gdy widzi, że rozpętanej fali nienawiści nie zdoła powstrzymać.

"O zabójstwach napisałem 2 listy i dekret dla soboru[216] —ale nie mam wrażenia, aby listy i uchwały, dekret i prawidła—na włos sprawę zmieniły. . ." I kończy: "Jedno tylko może wyjednać pomoc Bożą: modlitwa".[217]

Troska Metropolity przebija i w liście do mnie:

In pace Lwów 12.I.43

Moja droga Siostro Krysto!

Twój list z 5/I sprawił mi wielką przyjemność, pociechę w tych strasznych czasach. Dziękuję za pamięć, za list, za modlitwy. Książka, o której piszesz: Najśw[iętsze] Serce a kapłaństwo jest przetłumaczona i na ukraińską mowę—bardzo ładne i wzniosłe myśli, ale za wysokie na ogół duchowieństwa. O śmierci Wł. Szembeka słyszałem, szczegółów oczywiście nikt nie zna.[218] Czy był kapłanem? Odkąd był w zakonie? Syn czyj? Zdaje się, że wnuk Zygmunta? Straszne czasy—demoralizacja niesłychana, a tak mało można reagować przeciw złu. Tym

[216] [The pastoral epistle, "Ne ubyj," of 21 November 1942, published in *L'vivs'ki arxieparxijal'ni vidomosti* (1942) (cf. *Pys'ma-poslannja*, pp. 222–31); the pastoral epistle of 10 August 1943 (cf. "Listy metropolity Szeptyckiego," *Znak* 40, no. 9 (1988): 74–78); and "Pravyla do dekretu 'Pro p'jatu zapovid'," prepared for the 3 and 10 December 1942 sessions of the archdiocesan synod (cf. *Pys'ma-poslannja*, pp. 257–58).]

[217] "Lwiwski Archieparchialni widomosti" czerwiec—lipiec 1943 r. Przemowa przy otwarciu Synodu 1943 r. str. 86–87. [Cf. *Pys'ma-poslannja*, pp. 396–97.]

[218] Gdy Niemcy przyszli aresztować przełożonego klasztoru Salezjanów—miejscowości nie wiem—O. Włodzimierz prosił, by go wzięli wzamian. Zabrali obu i uwięzili w Rzeszowie. Później, przełożonego wypuścili, a Włodzia zatrzymali, może jako brata Jacha Szembeka [Jan Włodzimierz Szembek (1881–1945), Polish diplomat; in 1921–1932 he was, successively, envoy in Budapest, Brussels, and Budapest again; from 1932 he was undersecretary of state in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs], vice ministra przy Becku [Józef Beck (1894–1944), Polish minister of foreign affairs, 1932–1939]. Współwięzień z Włodziem w Rzeszowie, po wypuszczeniu z więzienia urzędnik w spółdzielni w Sączu, opowiadał, jak Włodzia męczyli. Raz wrócił z przesłuchania z wykręconymi stawami ramion. Ręce miał zupełnie bezwładne. "Jakie to szczęście—powtarzał wówczas—cierpieć za wiarę i ojczyznę". Przewieziono go do Oświęcimia, skąd w kilka dni później rodzina otrzymała wiadomość, że zachorował i umarł.

ważniejsza modlitwa. Przepraszam za brzydkie pismo, ręka chora i nieposłuszna. Choć spóźnione, przyjm życzenia na rok 1943. Bóg z Tobą. Za Ciebie i całe Zgromadzenie codzień modlę się.

+ Andrzej

O M[atkę] Jozafatę boję się, że choroba przejdzie w stan chroniczny, jak u mnie.

Mordy i rzezie Polaków w Małopolsce Wschodniej wzmagały się; broni dostarczali Ukraińcom potajemnie Niemcy, którzy obawiali się zjednoczenia się Polaków i Rusinów. Klasztor nasz w Niżniowie był w ciągłym niebezpieczeństwie i przechodził okropne chwile. Przełożoną była tam podówczas S[iostra] M[aria] Marcela od Ducha św. Do klasztoru przyjeżdżała często pani Chylewska, oddana Siostrom, która bywała u Ks. Metropolity. Przywiozła raz Siostrom zaświadczenie z podpisem Metropolity, którego treść w polskim przekładzie brzmiała: "Moim gorącym życzeniem jest, by moi synowie Ukraińcy strzegli klasztoru Sióstr w Niżniowie i nie dawali im uczynić żadnej krzywdy. Niech pamiętają, że tylko ci, którzy się wyrzekają zemsty, mogą liczyć na miłosierdzie Boże". "Ja o ten papier nigdy nie prosiłam—pisała S. Marcela—wiedząc, że ci, którzy mordują, nie będą zważali na zakaz Metropolity—p. Chylewska (być może, że w porozumieniu z Ks. Rzewuskim),[219] sama się o to postarała. Ona wówczas często rozmawiała z Ks. Metr[opolitą], już b[ardzo] chorym i izolowanym i mówiła, że otoczenie ukrywa przed nim wiadomości o zbrodniach. . ."

Dziwnym się może wydawać zwrot Metropolity o zaniechaniu zemsty—wszak Ukraińcy nie mieli za co się mścić na klasztorze i Metropolita dobrze o tym wiedział. Ale znał psychikę swego ludu. W nienawiści swej do Polaków, Ukraińcy nie działali przeciw jednostkom jako takim (choć mogło się i to zdarzać). Był to szał nienawiści w stosunku do całego narodu polskiego, szał, pragnący wywrzeć zbiorową zemstę za wszystkie kiedykolwiek doznane "krzywdy", za represje po wojnie polsko-ukraińskiej, za okrucieństwa przy pacyfikacji i na początku wojny. Przed tym uczuciem zemsty ostrzegał Metropolita.

Jeden jeszcze list z 21.4.43 otrzymałam od Metropolity w odpowiedzi na mój.

In pace

Droga Siostro Krysto

Na list z 5.1 ja dotąd nie odpisałem, odkładałem odpowiedź na Święta. Teraz więc z życzeniami świąt przesyłam i podziękowanie i pozdrowienia. Odczytuję list, widzę, że już odpisywałem i otrzymałem nowy list, którego nie znajduję. Daj Boże

[219] [Piotr Tadeusz Rzewuski (1893–1971), Polish Greek Catholic priest, one of the metropolitan's close circle. After 1945, in Western Europe known as Father Kreuza. He was the first postulator of the metropolitan's beatification process.]

pokój i zgodę i możliwe stosunki, możliwe życie i pracę. Modlę się za Was. Niech Bóg błogosławi wszystkie domy i nowicjat i Wam wszystkim daje swą łaskę na drodze do świętości

+ Andrzej

Było to ostatnie błogosławieństwo Metropolity, jakie mnie doszło. Kartki i listy ze Lwowa dochodziły jeszcze do Korczyny[220] —do Sącza nie. Wiedziałam przez Hanię i Izię, że na wiosnę 1944 r. Metropolita ciężko zachorował, lecz wyszedł z niebezpieczeństwa—że dożył najgorszego okresu mordowania Polaków i wysiedlania ich "za San"—dożył wypędzenia i wywiezienia wszystkich, z proboszczem na czele z Bruchnala i zamknięcia tam kościoła, w którym przez całe dzieciństwo i lata młodzieńcze modlił się z Rodzicami i braćmi. To był jego straszliwy Ogrójec. Paweł Sapieha,[221] brat Jadzi Szembekowej, odwiedzał go raz w tych czasach i widział jego ból nad niemożnością powstrzymania zła.

Na wiosnę 1945 r. pisała Hania: "O śmierci Stryjcia Metropolity dowiedziałyśmy się okrężną drogą—umarł 1/ XI cz[yli] w dzień Wszystkich Świętych 1944 r."

Potem jeszcze ktoś powiedział, że O. Klemens był przy nim do ostatniej chwili, że w ostatnich dniach przed śmiercią stracił przytomność i wiadomym było, że Ks. Arcybiskup Twardowski przeziębił się na jego pogrzebie tak, że to spowodowało w kilka tygodni później jego własną śmierć.

* * *

Dziwnym trafem spotkałam 10 lat później kleryka dominikańskiego, brata Odilona Roztusznego, który będąc chłopcem, brał udział w pogrzebie Metropolity i na moją prośbę napisał krótkie o pogrzebie wspomnienie:

Pogrzeb księdza Metropolity Szeptyckiego.

W pochmurną niedzielę listopadową roku 1944 zebrali się wierni obrządku grecko-katolickiego przed katedrą świętego Jerzego we Lwowie, aby oddać ostatnią przysługę zmarłemu Metropolicie i odprowadzić na miejsce wiecznego spoczynku. Na wysokim wzniesieniu katafalku po środku nawy głównej, w czarnej trumnie spoczywał spokojnie snem wiecznym w szatach liturgicznych Ksiądz Metropolita Arcybiskup Szeptycki. Siwa broda zdawaćby się mogło, że jest odbiciem bladej twarzy zmarłego. Wśród płonących świec, zapachu wieńców, kwiatów i dymu kadzideł, wznosił się przed tron Stwórcy psalm "Miserere mei Deus", modły te zanosiło do Pana Boga duchowieństwo polskie wraz ze swoim Arcypasterzem

220 [To the metropolitan's brother, Stanisław, owner of Korczyna, near Krosno.]

221 [Prince Paweł Józef Sapieha (1888–probably 1975), son of Leon and Teresa (see above). He studied Ukrainian language and culture under the tutelage of M. Budka, later bishop, and sponsored Ukrainian cultural and church institutions. After the Second World War he moved to the United States.]

księdzem Metropolitą Twardowskim, gdzie i ja miałem możność być przy tych ceremoniach z Ojcami Kapucynami, jako ministrant. Po odśpiewaniu psalmu pięćdziesiątego, Ksiądz Arcybiskup Twardowski zaintonował "Libera", a na zakończenie odmówiono psalm "De profundis", poczem chór kleryków obrządku grecko-katolickiego wykonał przejmujące pieśni żałobne. Po ceremoniach, ksiądz Arcybiskup Metropolita Twardowski wraz z klerem polskim opuścił cerkiew. Przy modlitwach, śpiewanych w języku starocerkiewnym, zapieczętowano trumnę, przykryto czerwonym kirem, uroczyście wyniesiono na dziedziniec katedralny i ułożono na wysoko wzniesionym katafalku, przystrojonym kwiatami i świecami. Śpiew milknie, a z balkonu świątyni do tłumnie zebranych wiernych przemówił ksiądz biskup sufragan.[222] Po skończonej przemowie, uformował się pochód, poprzedzała go młodzież z licznymi wieńcami, chorągwiami, sztandarami oraz duchowieństwo męskie i zakony żeńskie. Kondukt prowadził ksiądz Biskup w asyście księży, za duchowieństwem sześciu kleryków niosło trumnę ze zmarłym Metropolitą, pochód zamykały niezliczone rzesze wiernych. Przy dźwiękach marsza żałobnego kondukt ruszył ulicą Adama Mickiewicza, Jagiellońską i z powrotem obok ogrodu jezuickiego, zatrzymując się trzykrotnie, wtedy Ksiądz Biskup śpiewał modlitwy naprzemian z chórem. Kiedy kondukt żałobny zbliżał się do cerkwi, wówczas na dziedzińcu katedralnym przy dźwiękach hymnu, pochyliły się sztandary, a lud minutową ciszą oddał hołd swemu Arcypasterzowi, a po tej krótkiej ceremonii przy śpiewie kleru zniesiono trumnę ze zmarłym księdzem Metropolitą do krypty podziemnej i tam też spoczął. Tak oddał lud ostatnią przysługę swemu Arcypasterzowi Metropolicie Lwowskiemu ks. Arcybiskupowi Szeptyckiemu.

Requiescat in pace.

W[arsza]wa 22.XI.1954

br[at] Odilo Roztuszny
O. P.

Skończyłam w święto M[atki] B[oskiej] Częstochowskiej 1955 r.[223]

222 [Josyf Slipyj (1892–1987), Metropolitan Šeptyc'kyj's successor; from 1939 until the metropolitan's death, his archbishop coadjutor.]

223 [That is, 26 August.]

Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's Hebrew Correspondence, 1903*

HENRY ABRAMSON

In July of 1903, Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi (1865–1944) received a letter from a Jewish community asking for financial aid. It seems that a member of this community had fallen into dire straits, and the leaders (*parnassim*) of the Jewish community turned to Sheptyts'kyi for assistance. The following is a translation of and commentary on the metropolitan's reply, originally written in Hebrew.[1]

The metropolitan's letter displays an astonishing familiarity with Jewish texts such as the Talmud and the Siddur and a deep sensitivity for Jewish customs and religious conventions. The letter is replete with allusions to classic Jewish works, and the calligraphy is exemplary. In fact, the correspondence is so beautiful that its authenticity might reasonably be questioned. This is unlikely, however, since the common word "if" appears to be misspelled, a mistake that would probably not be made by one who learned Hebrew as a child.

The metropolitan first began his study of Hebrew in 1884, while recovering from a bout of scarlet fever.[2] As early as 1901, Sheptyts'kyi was addressing Jewish groups in Hebrew,[3] an activity which prompted some cir-

* This article is based on a lecture sponsored by the Association of Graduate Students of the Centre for Russian and East European Studies at the University of Toronto. I am grateful to Professor Joseph Shatzmiller and Rabbi Lawrence Troster for their assistance with the translation. All errors remain my responsibility.

1 The photographic reproduction of the letter on p. 176 below is reprinted from P. Friedman, "Hurban yehudei lvov," in N. Gelber, ed., *Entsiklopedyah shel galuyot: lvov* (Jerusalem), vol. 4, pt. 1 (1956), p. 670. The letter is reproduced directly from this volume in O. Kravcheniuk, *Veleten' zo Sviatoiurs'koi hory: Prychynky do biohrafii sluhy Bozhoho Andreia Sheptyts'koho na pidstavi chuzhomovnykh dzherel* (Yorkton, Saskatchewan, 1963), p. 111, and is translated into Ukrainian in that volume. Although this seems to be the only published translation of the metropolitan's letter, it does not capture the nuances of the text, nor does it grasp Sheptyts'kyi's allusions to the Talmud and other Jewish sources.

2 S. Redlich, "Sheptyts'kyi and the Jews during World War II," in Paul Robert Magocsi, ed., *Morality and Reality: The Life and Times of Andrei Sheptyts'kyi* (Edmonton, 1989), p. 148.

3 For an example of one of the metropolitan's visits to a Jewish community, see L. Vasyl', ed., *Berezhans'ka zemlia: Istorychno-memuarnyi zbirnyk* (New York, 1970), pp. 189–90. Sheptyts'kyi was officially greeted by rabbis carrying the Torah scrolls, an honor usually reserved for such high state dignitaries as the emperor and virtually unheard of for leaders of other faiths.

cles to accuse the metropolitan of "Judaizing."[4] Within the Jewish community of Western Ukraine, the metropolitan's prestige grew by leaps and bounds. On the occasion of his seventieth birthday, the Jewish community of Lviv praised him as "a true example of culture and the highest ethical principles, who has always shown the same attitudes of understanding and justice to [the people of] Israel [as to other nationalities]."[5]

Although most of the letter is in Hebrew, it is significant to note that there are also passages in Aramaic and Yiddish. While it was not exceptional for a Christian clergyman of Sheptyts'kyi's stature to be able to read Hebrew, since this was the language of the Old Testament, Sheptyts'kyi's knowledge of Aramaic is indicative of more than a passing familiarity with the Talmud, which is, of course, outside the Christian canon. Interestingly, Sheptyts'kyi signs his name not in Hebrew or Aramaic but in Yiddish, the vernacular of East European Jewry.[6]

The metropolitan's reply is indicative of a high degree of familiarity with and respect for Jewish sources and customs. In a letter of barely one hundred words, the metropolitan gracefully alludes to passages in the Hebrew scriptures, a tractate of the Mishnah, tractates of the Talmud, and the Jewish prayer book, the Siddur. His sensitivity to important Jewish customs is evident in his use of euphemisms (*ha-Shem*, "the Name") and abbreviations of common formulae (*a''h*, "may his rest be peaceful"). An exceptional humanitarian, the metropolitan demonstrates by this letter his deep respect for the Galician Jewish community and his profound interest in Jewish tradition.

University of Toronto

[4] *Poslaniie pastyrske Andreia Sheptytskoho Mytropolyta Halytskoho, Arkhiiepyskopa L'vovskoho, Epyskopa Kamentsia Podol'skoho do Dukhoven'stva soiedineykh ieparkhii: O kanonichnoi vyzytatsii* (Zhovkva, 1902), cited in Redlich, "Sheptyts'kyi," pp. 149–50. In this passage, Sheptyts'kyi justifies his Hebrew speeches as being excellent opportunities for "bringing them nearer to Christ's teachings."

[5] *Dilo*, 1 August 1935, p. 1.

[6] In an earlier letter, Sheptyts'kyi implied that he was able to converse in Yiddish. See *Poslaniie*, pp. 149–50, cited in Redlich, "Sheptyts'kyi," p. 150.

Translation

Blessed is the Name[7]

My brothers! Peace be upon you, who devotedly involve themselves with the needs of the community![8]

Let there be peace upon you and peace upon those who assist you!

Your letter and your requests I have read. My soul is agitated and seethes when I hear that this righteous [but] destitute man has innocently fallen into a net.[9] How well the wise man[10] has said: if you have given your hand to a stranger. . .[11]

And I, what can I do? Behold, five times six hundred thousand are standing under my sceptre,[12] standing here without bread, without sustenance! Who numbers the destitute that look upon me as your fathers [looked] upon King David, may his rest be peaceful![13] (Berakhot chap. 1). . .[14]

7 Observant Jews traditionally begin all texts with this or a similar phrase. "The Name" (*ha-Shem*) is a euphemism for the Tetragrammaton, which is omitted in accordance with the commandment not to take the Name in vain (Exodus 20: 7). Although this phrase is usually abbreviated (*b''h*) and placed in the top right corner, Sheptyts'kyi spells it out in full and places it in the top center. It seems that the word *barukh* (blessed) is misspelled as *barur* (clear, apparent), but this may be due to the deterioration of the paper or poor quality of the reproduction.

8 A phrase taken from the Prayer for the Congregation, read after the Torah reading on the Sabbath. This prayer can be found in any Siddur, the Jewish prayer book. See, for example, Rabbis N. Scherman and M. Zlotowitz, *The Complete Art Scroll Siddur* (Nusach Ashkenaz), 2nd. ed. (Brooklyn: Mesorah, 1986), p. 451.

9 A biblical idiom meaning "to be involved in a difficult situation." Compare Psalms 35: 7 and 57: 7. The community leaders are writing to Sheptyts'kyi on behalf of a member of the community who has suddenly become in great need of funds, perhaps through bankruptcy.

10 A reference to King Solomon, traditionally regarded as the author of the book of Proverbs.

11 Proverbs 6: 1–2: "My son, if you have stood surety for your fellow, Given your hand to a stranger,/ You have been trapped by the words of your mouth, Snared by the words of your mouth." Perhaps the man on whose behalf the community was asking for money had given his property to another as collateral on a loan, only to lose it when his associate defaulted on his payments. Another reading might be that Sheptyts'kyi is unable to help to a greater degree because he has already promised his energies (and finances) to the Ukrainian Catholic community.

12 Sheptys'kyi is referring to the three million-odd Ukrainian Catholics in Eastern Galicia. The idiom is biblical; Sheptyts'kyi emphasizes that he has five times the approximately six hundred thousand Jewish males that Moses led through the desert (Numbers 1: 46).

13 Sheptys'kyi uses the Hebrew abbreviation of this formula (*a''h*), literally, "upon him the peace."

14 A reference to tractate Berakhot of the Talmud. Sheptyts'kyi is referring to the numerous references in chap. 1 that regard King David's practice as a model for Jewish prayer.

Nevertheless, despite all this, even if[15] I am not required to finish the task,[16] all the same I will not turn an empty face[17] to those, who pray for their friend.

TEN CROWNS[18] are enclosed.

Heaven is a witness[19] that in doing this I do more than is [within] my abilities.

Let the Name[20] add a thousand to them,[21]

in harmony with [the wishes of] your souls and the soul

that respects you,

Andreas Sheptyts'kyi[22]

Lviv,[23] 3 July / 20 July 1903[24]

To the Community Elders of [Ivanovka?].[25]

[15] This word seems to be misspelled. Sheptys'kyi uses the silent letter ayin rather than the silent letter aleph to spell the word "if." The homonym that is used in the phrase usually means "with" or "close to." It is possible to read this word as "while," but this usage is uncommon and rather awkward. It is more likely that the metropolitan simply confused two silent letters, an error easily made by one who did not learn Hebrew as a child. It is also possible that this word is spelled correctly and the following word is the abbreviation "etc." (which is not indicated properly as an abbreviation); however, this is also a very awkward and unidiomatic usage and points to the same conclusion—the author did not learn Hebrew as a child.

[16] An allusion to the Mishnah, Avot 2: 16. "He [Rabbi Tarfon] used to say: it is not [incumbent] upon thee to finish the work, but neither art thou a free man so as [to be entitled to] refrain therefrom. . ."

[17] A biblical idiom meaning "to appear before someone empty-handed." See Exodus 23: 15 and 34: 20.

[18] Emphasis in the original. Ten crowns was a substantial sum, judging from some contemporary references in the Ukrainian press, cited in John-Paul Himka, *Galician Villagers and the Ukrainian National Movement in the Nineteenth Century* (Edmonton, 1988): ten crowns was worth approximately a month's earnings for a Galician tavernkeeper (p. 174); two bushels of rye in the fall, or one in the spring (p. 166); or 0.06 hectares of land (about one-tenth of an acre; p. 163).

[19] Aramaic formula.

[20] Sheptyts'kyi uses the Hebrew abbreviation "h'."

[21] That is, the ten crowns.

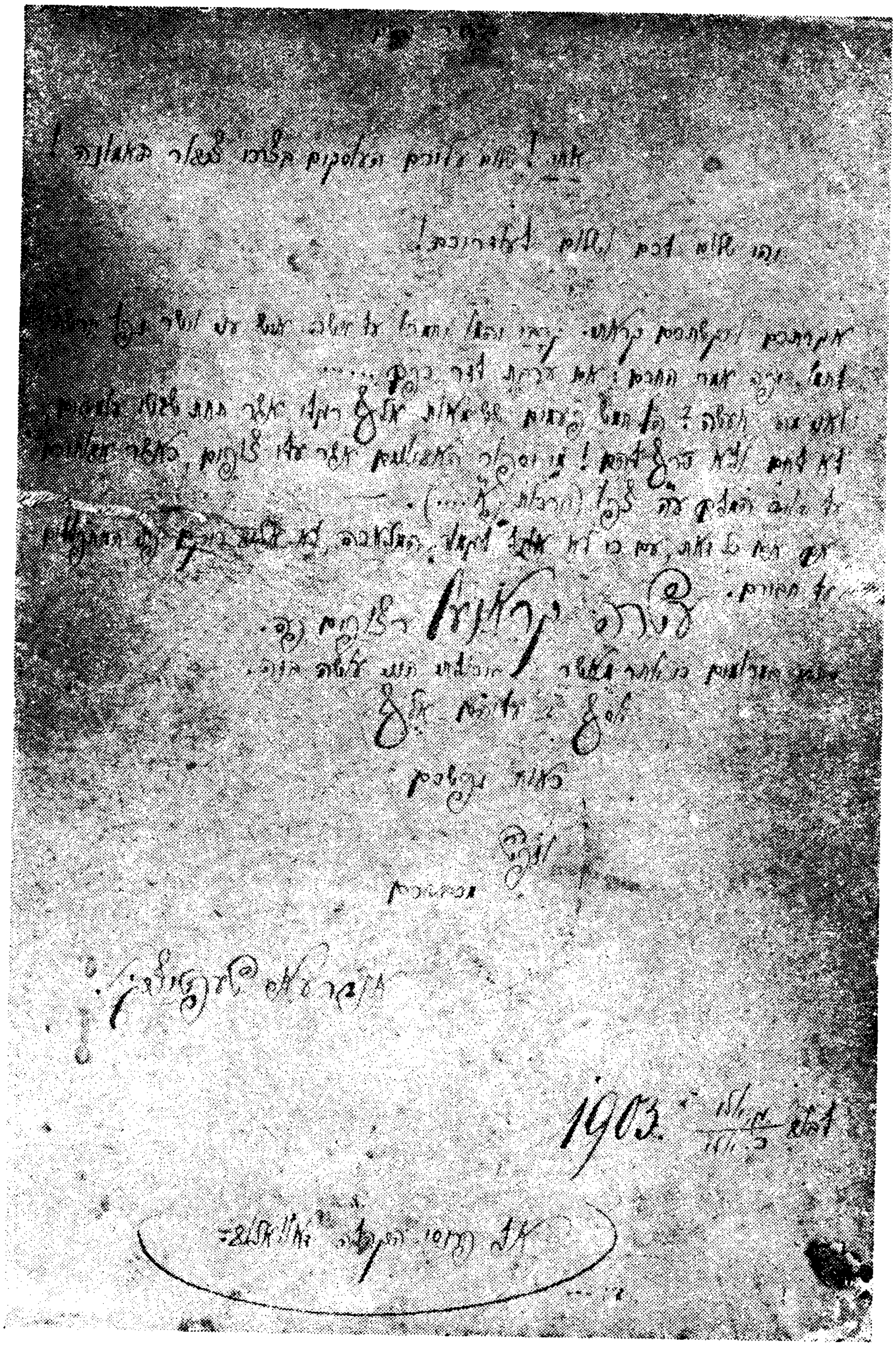
[22] Sheptyts'kyi signs his name in Yiddish.

[23] L'vov in the original, the Yiddish name for Lviv.

[24] This form of dating probably indicates that the letter from the Jewish community was received on the third of July, and the response is dated the twentieth.

[25] Sheptyts'kyi uses an Aramaic construction here. The name of the community is very difficult to read, and it could be Avolov, Ovolov, Ovolom, Ovalom, and several other possibilities, none of which are listed in C. Cohen's *Shtetl Finder* (Los Angeles, 1980). Although the spelling for Ivanovka (Ivanivka? Ivaniv?) in the letter is not correct, the proximity of this town (and towns with similar names) to Lviv make this a distinct possibility.

Facsimile



REVIEW ARTICLES

Four Publications Commemorating the Millennium of Christianity in Rus'-Ukraine

BORYS GUDZIAK

A THOUSAND YEARS OF CHRISTIANITY IN UKRAINE: AN ENCYCLOPEDIC CHRONOLOGY. Compiled and edited by *Osyp Zinkewych* and *Andrew Sorokowski*. New York, Baltimore, Toronto: Smoloskyp Publishers and The National Committee to Commemorate the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine, 1988. 312 pp. $49.75.

A MILLENNIUM OF CHRISTIAN CULTURE IN UKRAINE. Edited by *Andrew Sorokowski*. London: The Ukrainian Millennium Committee in Great Britain, 1988. 197 pp. £20.

MILLENNIUM OF CHRISTIANITY IN UKRAINE: A SYMPOSIUM. Edited by *Joseph Andrijisyn*. Ottawa: Saint Paul University, 1987. 303 pp.

THE UKRAINIAN RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE: TRADITION AND THE CANADIAN CULTURAL CONTEXT. Edited by *David J. Goa*. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1989. xiv, 243 pp. $34.95.

The basic human need for commemoration and predilection for round numbers makes anniversaries important happenings and catalysts for new undertakings. It is no wonder, then, that for Slavists of almost all persuasions the Millennium of the Kievan Church and of the Christianization of Rus'-Ukraine was a special occasion for concentrated activity. The broad consequences of Volodimer's "fundamental option" were duly noted by the worldwide scholarly community through a vertiginous succession of congresses, conferences, and symposia. Ambitious projects for the publication of sources were revitalized or put into motion. The festivities generated numerous encyclopedic, monographic, and popular accounts of Kievan Christianity and its multifaceted legacy. Although the din of the festivities has hardly subsided and editors are still very much entangled in the manuscripts that the Millennium stimulated, it is not too early to begin appraising the scholarly fruits produced by the commemoration of the thousandth anniversary of the Kievan Church.

Unfortunately, the academic yield of the millennial events was not universally rich. *Perebudova* did not reach Ukraine until the Millennium year was well under way, too late to restructure the *nauchni plany* of the scholarly establishment there. Hence, the millennial conferences and publications in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic were few in number and limited in scope by the traditional Soviet ideological strictures, particularly confining for research on religious history or culture.[1] For Ukrainian studies in the West, however, the Millennium was an opportunity for an interdisciplinary consideration of one thousand years of Christian institutions and culture in Rus'-Ukraine and a boon to ecclesiastical history. Since church life is both a central element of continuity in Ukrainian history and a reflection of the discontinuities in the Ukrainian historical experience, scrutiny of the life of the Churches and an examination of Christian culture is an integral part of Ukrainian studies. At a time when research on Ukrainian topics is being revitalized in Eastern Europe and is reaching a new stage of maturity in the West, it is important to evaluate critically the state of scholarship in Ukrainian ecclesiastical history and religious studies. The four works reviewed here—a chronological survey of Ukrainian church history, a book of essays on Christian culture in Ukraine, and two collections of Millennium conference papers—are representative of the contribution of Western Ukrainianists to the Millennium literature. Drawing as they do from the many fields comprising and associated with Ukrainian religious studies, the strengths and weaknesses of these publications can be considered characteristic of the discipline in general.

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In *A Thousand Years of Christianity in Ukraine: An Encyclopedic Chronology* Smoloskyp publishers have provided the amateur, if not the scholar, with an imaginative reference tool. A joint effort by over twenty contributors, this chronology of religious life is packed with well-organized information. The goal of the editors was "to present the history of Christianity in Ukraine in simple chronological form" (p. 7). Their one-volume factological documentation of the historical continuity of

[1] See, for example, the published abstracts of the republican "scientific-theoretical" conference held on 20–22 April 1988 under the joint sponsorship of the Institute of Social Sciences (Lviv) of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, the Lviv oblast' Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, and the Lviv branch of the Organization for the Preservation of Historical and Cultural Monuments, *Prohresyvna suspil'no-politychna dumka v borot'bi proty feodal'noi reaktsii ta katolyts'ko-uniats'koi ekspansii na Ukraini* (Lviv, 1988.) The nature of abstracts makes it difficult to make categorical pronouncements about the conference and the quality of the papers presented. Many of the ninety-three abstracts have slogan-like or thoroughly derivative theses. Only two hundred copies of the rotaprint booklet were circulated. Ukrainian scholarly debate on religious topics was stifled not only within the republic. Some Ukrainian academics were refused exit permits to attend Western Millennium conferences. For a discussion of a recent Soviet work on Ukrainian church history that appeared one year after the Millennium, when liberalization had begun to take effect, see my review of S. N. Plokhyi, *Papstvo i Ukraina: Polityka rymskoi kurii na ukrainskikh zemliakh v XVI–XVII vv.* (Kiev, 1989), forthcoming in *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*.

Christian life in Ukraine consists of ten chapters. The first brief chapter covers the first ten centuries A.D. and the rest are devoted to the thousand years following the Christianization of Rus'. Two-thirds of the book chronicle the seventeenth to twentieth century. The last chapter (1917–1988) documents the Ukrainian Churches in the diaspora. Most of the chapters share the same structure, that is, sections entitled "General Characteristics of the Period," "Chronology," "Principle Ecclesiastical Activity," and "Church and Monastery Construction." In the tenth chapter the fourth category is replaced by an inventory of destroyed churches. The "Chronology" section forms the heart of each chapter; it consists of a listing of dates with brief explanations of the corresponding events, including their location and principal participants. Tables listing the eparchies and hierarchs of the Ukrainian Churches and political rulers are provided within the chapters and cumulatively at the end of the volume, where the reader also finds a short bibliography and index of persons and places. The latter index, unfortunately but understandably, does not cover the extensive lists of church construction and destruction. Illustrated with political and ecclesiastic maps and embellished with over four hundred illustrations, the *Encyclopedic Chronology* is a wealth of visual as well as factual information.

The reader might overlook the frequent over-simplification (e.g., the Roman Empire became Christian in 313; p. 13) in the description of the "General Characteristics of the Period," where in a few paragraphs the political situation in Eastern Europe, the religious situation in Europe, and the political situation in Ukraine are sketched. However, besides unavoidable simplification, these summaries include numerous inaccuracies and unsubstantiated statements. Thus, for example, not only did the Orthodox Church not lose all political influence under the Ottoman Turks (p. 88), it arguably gained power as the only institutional representative of Christians before the Sultanate. Nor is the "Chronology" devoid of outright errors. Jesuits first arrived in Poland in 1564, not 1569 (p. 94). The brotherhood school in Lviv can hardly be called a "Theological Seminary" (p. 97). Iov and not Iona (Jona) was the first patriarch of Moscow; he was elevated to the patriarchate in 1589, not in 1588 (p. 96). It was not Metropolitan Niphontos but Exarch Nikephoros who came to defend the Orthodox position at Brest in 1596 in the name of the patriarch of Constantinople. There are some misdesignations in the captions to illustrations. The photograph of monks in front of the Dormition Church of the Kiev Monastery of the Caves (p. 230) could not have been taken in 1944 after the Soviet return to the city because the church was dynamited by Soviet authorities before they left Kiev in 1941. The nascent Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church was not out on a campaign to stamp out illiteracy; hence, the *Hramatka* pictured on page 222 is not a grammar but rather a *pomianyk*, a diptych or register of the living and deceased to be remembered in prayer.

Terminological problems are also not infrequent. A "rite" can be Roman, Byzantine, or Alexandrian, but not "Orthodox and Catholic" (p. 93). The standard English translations for Slavic terms are not always used: *voievoda* is rendered as "county-head" instead of "palatine." The "Tepla [Warm] Church of the Mhar Monastery" (p. 198) is in fact the monastic community's "winter church." The names of Greeks are in many cases rendered in English in transliteration from their Slavic versions.

Finally, nowhere in the chronology is it indicated where the dating according to the Julian calendar ends and that according to the Gregorian begins. From the end of the sixteenth to the beginning of the twentieth century the two calendars were used in Ukraine by various religious communities in different contexts.[2] The documentation concerning Ukrainian church history left by different civil and ecclesiastical institutions reflects this chronological complexity. The editors of the *Encyclopedic Chronology* should have explained how they handled the discrepancy between the Julian and Gregorian calendars. In general, their compendium of facts is rich but not always reliable, and must be used with care.

The synthetic articles about Ukrainian religious culture in the second publication under consideration compliment the factographical profile of the *Encyclopedic Chronology*. Prefaced by J. Dingley, with a concise historical outline provided by the Millennium committee, *A Millennium of Christian Culture in Ukraine* consists of four thematic essays introducing aspects of Ukrainian Christian literature and art. The essays acquaint the non-specialist with some general historical patterns in different fields of Ukrainian culture, not neglecting to provide specific examples that give the narrative concreteness and texture. Meant for a broad readership, the articles do not have a scholarly apparatus, except for the selected bibliographies that follow the essays on architecture and iconography.

Titus Hewryk's "The History of Ukrainian Church Architecture: An Introduction" is a cogent account of the evolution of the styles and forms of Ukrainian ecclesiastical buildings. The legacy of the Greek colonies on the northern Black Sea coast and especially that of ninth- and tenth-century Byzantium combined with the indigenous heritage and Western influence to determine the different styles and define the stages of Ukrainian architectonic development. The author succinctly describes these sometimes overlapping periods—the Byzantine, Romanesque, Gothic, Renaissance, Ukrainian Baroque—and ends with an evaluation of the eclecticism of the nineteenth century and the architectural vicissitudes of the twentieth.

2 Pope Gregory XIII signed the bull *Inter gravissimas* promulgating the calendar reform on 24 February 1582. The new calendar was introduced between 4 October and 15 October 1582. It was accepted in that year by King Stefan Batory, thereby making it the official civil calendar in the Ukrainian lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The calendar reform immediately became a point of controversy and was rejected by the Orthodox, so that within the Russian Empire, after the partitions of Poland including most Ukrainian lands, the Julian calendar continued to be used for civil as well as liturgical purposes until 14 February 1918 (1 February old style). For a survey of the various aspects of the calendar reform, including reception, see *Gregorian Reform of the Calendar: Proceedings of the Vatican Conference to Commemorate its 400th Anniversary, 1582–1982*, ed. C. V. Coyne, M. A. Hoskin, and O. Pederson (Vatican City, 1983). In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the spread between the two calendars was ten days. On March 1 of 1700, 1800, and 1900, leap years in the Julian but not the Gregorian calendar, the discrepancy increased by a day and throughout the twentieth and twenty-first century stands at thirteen days. Cf. W. S. B. Woolhouse, *Historical Measures, Weights, Calendars & Moneys of All Nations and an Analysis of the Christian, Hebrew and Muhammadan Calendars (With Tables up to 2000 A.D.)* (London, 1890; reprinted Chicago, 1979), pp. 145–50.

The account is enlivened with brief discussions of selected masterpieces, many (but not all) of which appear in the accompanying plates. The chronology, determined by masonry styles, is interrupted gracefully with a presentation of the vernacular wooden architectural legacy. This general account stressing forms includes enlightening remarks about materials, articulation, and ornamentation. Political and economic factors that influenced architectural processes are appropriately explained.

Of a different character is Myroslava M. Mudrak's "Reflections on Icons," which projects a certain randomness implied by the title. After describing the fate of famous Byzantine icons that sojourned in Ukraine before making their "careers" in Muscovy (Our Lady of Vyshhorod or Vladimir) and in Poland (the Black Madonna of Częstochowa), the author explains various aspects of icons and icon painting: the parts of an icon, preparation of the board and surface to be painted, technique, symbolism of color, spiritual preparation, and production of icons in monasteries and secular workshops. Types of the Mother of God icon are discussed, as well as the development, function, and layout of the iconostasis. Particular attention is devoted to the mosaics and iconostasis of St. Sophia in Kiev. The second part of the contribution consists largely of remarks on Western Ukrainian iconography, with the reflections on specific icons being the most insightful and concrete. Mudrak's article is somewhat disjointed, but covers many important bases.

Sophia Senyk's well-written essay "Religious Literature of Rus'- Ukraine" sets out to introduce, describe, and characterize the reading material available in Kievan Rus'. Giving concise and accurate explanations, the author categorizes Rus' religious literature under the following headings: works translated from Greek (including biblical, liturgical, monastic, and patristic literature, for which the proper Slavic and Greek titles are given where appropriate); literature of Slavic lands earlier converted to Christianity (Bulgaria and Moravia); original literature of Rus' (including the Boris and Gleb cycle; the literature of the Kiev Caves Monastery, particularly the *Paterikon* and the *Life of St. Theodosius*; the *Slovo* of Metropolitan Ilarion; and the writings of Cyril of Turaŭ, Volodimer Monomakh, and Daniel the Pilgrim). Biographical information and historical details pertinent to the presentation are supplied. The overview is enlivened with a well-chosen sampling of the texts in translation. Additional remarks about the language and rhetorical character of the Christian literature of Rus' make Senyk's overview not only informative to the layperson but also useful for introducing the subject in survey courses of medieval Ukrainian or East Slavic literature, history, or culture.

In "Ukrainian Culture through the Ages" Yuri Turchenko hopes to provide "an overview of the development and achievements of Ukrainian visual art and architecture from ancient times to the present." He begins with a prehistory of Ukrainian culture by cataloguing the cultures (Trypillian, Antian, Scythian, Cymmerian, Greek) that thrived on what eventually became Ukrainian ethnographic territory and of the peoples (Sarmatians, Alans, Goths, Huns, etc.) that migrated through it, making Ukraine a cultural crossroads. The author dispenses with the tenth to fourteenth century in a page, presumably because much of this had been covered in the preceding essays. The superficial discussion of the fifteenth to eighteenth century consists mainly of truisms and a list of artistic achievements with little analysis or

commentary. More perceptive is Turchenko's presentation of Shevchenko the artist, which comprises the majority of the treatment of the nineteenth century. The deleterious effect of the Soviet regime on Ukrainian culture in the twentieth century and a listing of émigré contributions to Ukrainian artistic and architectural development closes this overambitious and unsatisfying contribution.

A Millennium of Christian Culture in Ukraine has an attractive graphic design and is richly illustrated with over 130 photographs of churches, mosaics, icons, sculpture, manuscript illuminations, paintings, etchings, and drawings—almost all of them in color and of very good quality. The reader is puzzled, however, by the lack of coordination between text and illustrations. This is especially evident with respect to Hewryk's article. One-quarter of the architectural plates are devoted to the St. Sophia complex, while sixteenth-century masonry structures figuring prominently in Hewryk's text, such as the Brotherhood Church of the Dormition and the adjoining Chapel of the Three Hierarchs, are not at all represented in the illustrations. Similarly, the one illustration of a Radoslav Zuk design that is provided is not mentioned in the text, while none of the churches listed as his outstanding projects are to be found in the plates. The printing is virtually error-free and the texts are stylistically well edited; the editor should have avoided some repetition. Certain questions quickly covered by Turchenko receive more detailed discussion in the three more focused articles, the strength of which make this volume a valuable contribution to the literature of the Millennium.

One of the first Millennium conferences in North America was held in Ottawa, 7–9 November 1985, under the joint sponsorship of the Ukrainian Catholic synodal Millennium committee and St. Paul's University. Its published proceedings include a number of civic addresses and an appendix of documents about the celebration of the Millennium which are of a non-academic nature and are beyond the scope of this review. Historical topics predominate in the volume, which begins with Omeljan Pritsak's "The Baptism of Ukraine and Its Historical Significance." The scholar presents his reading of the chronicle account of Volodimer's baptism and stipulates dates, sequences, and underlying causes for the conversion of Rus'. Petro B. T. Bilaniuk ranges widely in his "Search for a Religious Identity by Eastern Slavs, IX–XII Centuries." His discussion of the persistence of the pre-Christian *Weltanschauung* among East Slavs is interesting, despite the fact that some of his observations are based on an uncritical juxtapositioning of folkloric and documentary evidence. In one of the more stimulating contributions, "The Kievan Church during the Councils of Florence and Brest," Ihor Monczak offers an original and thought-provoking, if somewhat speculative and not completely compelling, view of the momentous Florence and Brest councils from the perspective of the Kievan Particular Church. According to the author, the post-Florentine Kievan Church never lost its communion with Rome, and after Brest became divided because of "fear of being absorbed by the Polish Particular Church" (p. 244).

Three contributions explore questions of modern and twentieth-century church history. Alexander Baran, in "The Ukrainian Patriarchate of Pope Gregory XVI," narrates the fate of Gregory's mid-nineteenth-century project for the creation of a

patriarchate in Lviv. The plan, one in a series of unrealized Ukrainian patriarchal projects in the sixteenth to twentieth centuries, had the enthusiastic support of the Austrian imperial chancellor Prince K. L. Metternich, but faltered and ultimately was abandoned because of political difficulties, particularly Hungarian opposition to Galician jurisdiction over Greek Catholics within Hungary. Francis Morrisey's "Relations between Oriental Rite and Latin Rite Catholics in Canada" outlines the efforts of Roman Catholic bishops, members of the religious order Oblates of Mary Immaculate, to minister to Ukrainian Catholic immigrants in Canada. The author also briefly discusses the canonical difficulties encountered in relations between Western and Eastern Catholics. In "Suppression de l'Église gréco-catholique ukrainienne après la deuxième guerre mondiale en U.R.S.S. et en Pologne: Une comparaison," Bohdan Bociurkiw offers an informative and careful analysis of the liquidation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the Soviet Union by the pseudo-synod of Lviv (1946) and in Poland by the massive deportation of Ukrainians (1945–47) and the nationalization of the property of the Church (1947). The author discusses how the political changes after 1956 allowed the Church to reconstitute itself partially in a clandestine or semi-legal manner. A useful table with statistics of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Galicia in 1938 is provided (p. 104).

The volume is enriched by valuable essays on canon law and architectural history. Victor J. Pospishil's "The Ukrainian Catholic Church—an Associated Church of the Catholic Communion" begins with an outline of the process through which the canonical position of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, along with that of other Eastern Catholic Churches, has been clarified as being parallel and officially equal to that of the Roman Church. The author discusses the difference between "rite" and "church" and argues for a three-tiered (pope, patriarch, bishop) over a two-tiered (pope, bishop) model of the Catholic Church. Finally he presents three models of church association within the Catholic Church: (1) dogmaless association of churches (Anglican communion); (2) jurisdictionless association of Churches (Union of Florence); and (3) jurisdictional union (pattern followed by Rome since the 1600s). Although Pospishil does take for granted the speculative hypothesis that the Union of Brest was provoked by the establishment of the patriarchate of Moscow (p. 45), his argumentation is generally astute, canonically sound, and ecumenically insightful. In "Some Geometric Characteristics of Ukrainian Church Architecture," Radoslav Zuk identifies typical geometric patterns "inherent in the specific rhythmic relationships of the roof profile" in relation to the whole upper part of Ukrainian church buildings. It is this rhythmic relationship and not elements like domes or stylistic features that determines the common external character of Ukrainian churches. Zuk demonstrates his argument with an overwhelming twenty pages of analytical drawings and photographs.

Two modest articles discuss important ecclesiastical institutions. In "The Origins of Monastic Life in Rus'-Ukraine" Athanasius B. Pekar argues that monasticism accompanied Christianization in Rus' and that it spread quickly, exerting an important influence on Ukrainian church life and culture. George Gajecky's "Church Brotherhoods and Ukrainian Cultural Renewal in the 16th and 17th Centuries," while offering nothing new, is an accurate albeit brief introduction to the topic.

The collection *Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine: A Symposium* includes a number of competent presentations on significant moments throughout the thousand years of Ukrainian church life. It merits the attention of specialists, while the contemporary relevance of many of the topics discussed makes it of interest to a broader readership. The volume is illustrated with interesting sixteenth- to nineteenth-century engravings, which unfortunately are poorly reproduced. In general the volume is adequately edited, individual oversights notwithstanding (Hungarian is not a Slavic language; p. 257). One regrets, however, the numerous typographical errors, especially noticeable in the scholarly apparatus.

The second collection of proceedings is based on a conference held 13–16 March 1986 at the University of Alberta and the Provincial Museum of Alberta, in Edmonton. The volume, geared toward the scholar, begins with "A Personal Reflection" by Paul Yuzyk. Presumably the autobiographical note is included in the collection because of Yuzyk's early work on Ukrainian Canadian church history. It is followed by Omeljan Pritsak's "What Really Happened in 988?"—virtually identical to his contribution to the St. Paul University publication, except for the addition of a scholarly apparatus. The remaining papers are presented in four sections, the first of which is entitled "Liturgical Tradition in the Canadian Cultural Context." The four articles in this section seek to appraise critically certain continuities and discontinuities in Ukrainian church life. David J. Goa's "Cosmic Ritual in the Canadian Context" relies on a theoretical framework drawn from Mircea Eliade, which, however, is not always summarized articulately. Goa points out inconsistencies in liturgical and theological understanding and practice, but does so in a rarified way. One hopes that the expanded discussion in the promised forthcoming book will overcome these difficulties.

One of the better articles in the collection is Radoslav Zuk's attempt to define "Ukrainian" church space: "Sacred Space in Ukrainian Canadian Experience: Tradition and Contemporary Issues." As a background for the discussion of internal space in Ukrainian Canadian church architecture, Zuk establishes five basic types of spatial configuration for churches in Ukraine proper. According to Zuk, Ukrainian-Canadian churches show three kinds of spatial configuration (i.e., the basic definition of the three-dimensional physical environment), two of which have little or no precedent in Ukraine. In similar terms Zuk discusses spatial articulation (architectural elements that modify the basic configuration, e.g., ornamentation), pointing out that it is this aspect that frequently draws attention and becomes the basis for popular evaluation of church buildings. For the evolution of a "significant Ukrainian Church architecture" it is necessary "to understand the processes which operate in the evolution of an architectural tradition" (pp. 45–46). The greatest shortcoming of Ukrainian Canadian churches is that they "lack an abstract architectural order that makes a space 'sacred,' and a basic spatial character which is responsive to the Ukrainian cultural temperament" (p. 45). We may add (a point curiously absent from the author's discussion) that far too many new churches lack a responsiveness to the exigencies of the liturgy, a rather damning failure for structures built primarily for worship.

Serge Keleher in "Ukrainian Church Iconography in Canada: Models and Their Spiritual Significance" issues a call to ritual traditionalism. The appeal is in the guise of a discussion of Ukrainian iconography, for which a five-point typology is presented. The summons has a valid basis, but is not argued convincingly. The contribution does not, as claimed, give the "doctrinal, artistic, theological, liturgical, and pastoral grounds" (p. 54) for accepting Keleher's third or "authentic" model of iconography. "Changes in the Function of the Clergy from Ukraine to Canada" by Stephan Jarmus is a discussion of the low level of pastoral care provided by clergy in the Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic Churches. In examining the underdeveloped state of pastoral anthropology in the Eastern church tradition,[3] Jarmus takes Alexander Schmemann's words about the liturgical role of the priest out of the context of the liturgical discussion in which they are presented (pp. 60–61), makes a rather untheological opposition between "church" and "the people," and between "liturgy" and "the service of the people" (p. 61), and identifies *unynie* (Greek, ἀκηδία) with emotional depression (p. 63).[4] However, his criticism of priestly ministry is valid, and his call to an increased pastoral awareness in the Ukrainian Churches is a point well taken.

In the second section, entitled "Ecclesiastical Institutions in the Canadian Cultural Context," Casimir Kucharek's article on "The Roots of Latinization and Its Context in the Experience of Ukrainian Catholics in Canada" begins with a shaky presentation of the historical background, particularly when dealing with sixteenth- and seventeenth-century processes. Surely it is an overstatement to say that the Union of Brest was preceded by a "process of liturgical reforms whose purpose was to standardize Ukrainian church practice" and that "this uniformity had been largely achieved by the time of the Union" (pp. 69–70). The acceptance of the Union by individual bishops cannot be equated with the union of their respective eparchies since these often remained divided in their allegiances (p. 78, fn. 2). Ukrainian

[3] For a theological discussion of how "the faith of the [Orthodox] church provides solid ground for social action," see Georges Florovsky, "The Social Problem in Eastern Orthodoxy," in *Collected Works of Georges Florovsky*, vol. 2 (Belmont Mass., 1974), pp. 131–42. The essay originally appeared in the *Journal of Religious Thought* 3, no. 1 (autumn/winter, 1950–51): 41–51.

[4] Ἀκηδία, despondency, understood as the inner "voice claiming God has no mercy and love for men" or as the lack of will to move from a depressed state, is considered in Eastern Christian spirituality one of the eight (not seven, as in later Western tradition) cardinal sins or vices, first enumerated by Origen and given a new order by Evagrios Pontikos; Irénée Hausherr, "L'origine de la théorie orientale des huits péchés capitaux," *Orientalia Christiana* 30, no. 3 (1933): 164–75. In this sense the lethargy of the spirit is the cause as well as the effect of clinical depression. It is ἀκηδία or spiritual sloth as a cause of clinical depression that was condemned as sinful in the ascetic tradition, not depression itself. This distinction was not expressed in modern psychological categories, but it was nevertheless real. For a classical monastic formulation, see "Step 13-Despondency" in John Klimax (Climacus), *The Ladder of Divine Ascent*, trans. by Colm Luibheid and Norman Russell, notes on trans. by Norman Russell, introd. by Kallistos Ware (New York, 1982), pp. 162–64. For a discussion of ἀκηδία see Walther Volker, *Scala Paradisi. Eine Studie zu Johannes Climacus und zugleich eine Vorstudie zu Symeon dem Neuen Theologen* (Wiesbaden, 1968), pp. 89–97.

nobility became Roman Catholic and polonized not only despite Pope Urban VIII's decree of 1624 against transfer of rite, but before it, in the second half of the sixteenth century.[5] There is no evidence that Protestant influence was significant in the reestablishment of the Orthodox hierarchy in Ukraine in 1620 by Patriarch Theophanes of Jerusalem (p. 70). It is not true that in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the Ukrainian Catholic Church did not have its own seminaries (p. 72). In 1783 a general seminary for Greek Catholics was founded in Lviv and functioned until 1944, with interruptions during World War I and during the first Soviet occupation of Galicia, 1939–41.[6] The author proceeds to list extensively external manifestations of latinization in Ukrainian ecclesiastical practice in Canada and then discusses the theological differences between Byzantines and pre-Vatican II Westerners. He appropriately notes the "nearly total lack of orientation. . . and 'spirit' of Eastern theology" (p. 73) among Eastern Catholics in Canada, rightfully linking this to the training that Eastern Catholic seminarians receive in Latin seminaries.

The difficulties of establishing Ukrainian Catholic ecclesiastical organization in the new social conditions of the Canadian world are presented by Andrii Krawchuk in "Social Tradition and Social Change: The Ukrainian Catholic Church and Emigration to Canada Prior to World War II." Krawchuk convincingly argues that the conservative mind-set of Bishop Nykyta Budka, representative of the loyalist or monarchical attitudes of Ukrainian clergy in Austrian Galicia, as well as the shortage of priests exacerbated by the ban on married clergy, were important factors in contributing to the fact that by 1931, 40 percent of the Canadian Ukrainian population, almost all descendants of Eastern Catholics, belonged to different Churches. (A minor correction: Bishop Soter Ortyns'kyi was appointed 4 July 1907, not in 1908; p. 88.) "Ukrainian Religious Congregations in Canada: Tradition and Change" by Sophia Senyk is a good introductory survey of the activity of the Basilian, Redemptorist, and Studite Fathers and the Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate in the early phase of Ukrainian Catholic church life in Canada. The article succinctly presents different profiles of the respective orders or monastic communities and discusses the manner in which each congregation adapted its style to the common concern of ministering to the spiritual needs of Ukrainian immigrants. The difficulties encountered by the congregations and their successes and failures are compared. Roman Yereniuk, in the informative "Church Jurisdictions and Jurisdictional Changes Among Ukrainians in Canada, 1891–1925," outlines the development of the Greek Catholic ecclesiastical organization in response to the spiritual needs of Greek Catholics from Galicia and the struggle of four other ecclesiastical bodies (not merely jurisdictions) for the allegiance of the Greek Catholic Galicians

[5] The decree, though signed, was in fact never promulgated, and no prohibition to transfer rite was issued by Rome until 1774, after the first partition of Poland. By then all the damage had been done. Cf. Enrico Benedetti, "Le vicende di un decreto della Propaganda sul passaggio dei Ruteni al rito Latino (1624)," *Stoudion* 1 (1923–24): 12–16, 41–45, 65–68, 129–35, 167–72.

[6] Myroslav Marusyn, *Pohliad na vykhovannia kandydativ dukhovnoho stanu na Ukraini* (Rome, 1964), reprinted from *Bohosloviia* 21–24 (1943–63): 34–38.

and Orthodox Bukovinians. The organizational efforts of the following Churches are summarized: the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Mission in North America (later the North American diocese of the Russian Orthodox Church), the All-Russian Patriarchal Orthodox Church (Seraphimite Church), the Independent Greek Church (referred to as the Ruthenian Independent Orthodox Church) and the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada. This is followed by a list of ten factors that caused Canadian Ukrainians to change their ecclesiastical allegiance.

"Historical Factors in the Maintenance of Religion and Ethnicity," the third section, includes a number of miscellaneous contributions. Dennis J. Dunn's "The Vatican, the Kremlin and the Ukrainian Catholic Church" is in fact a description of Russian persecution of the Ukrainian Catholic Church from the seventeenth to the twentieth century. Although such a pattern of persecution is identifiable and analyzable, Dunn presents it anachronistically, all in light of twentieth-century events. Sixteenth- through eighteenth-century processes are simplified and collapsed. There is, thus, no differentiation between "the Kremlin" of the sixteenth, eighteenth to nineteenth, or twentieth century. The author is at his best in commenting on the Vatican's *Ostpolitik* and on twentieth-century affairs in general. But even here he is guilty of facile generalizations, for example, in maintaining that nationalists in Eastern Europe were not "anti-religious but pro-religious" (p. 138).

Bohdan Bociurkiw's "Soviet Suppression of the Greek Catholic Church in Ukraine and its Impact on Ukrainian Catholics in Canada" competently analyzes the factors shaping the Soviet decision to destroy the Ukrainian Catholic Church (reiterating parts of the essay in the St. Paul University collection). He outlines the life of the underground church since 1946, and offers a few remarks on the response of Ukrainian Catholics in Canada. Besides Ewan Lowig, who writes of the Union and of Greek Catholic church life disparagingly, Bociurkiw is the only author in the volume who regularly uses the term "Uniate," an appellation that is not official, in modern usage carries a derogatory connotation, and is generally spurned by Eastern Catholics themselves. Vasyl Markus's "The Role of the Patriarchal Movement in the Ukrainian Catholic Church" is a well-informed and balanced overview of the patriarchal movement by an active participant. Markus traces the development of the movement beginning with Vatican II, when Metropolitan Slipyj proposed that the Ukrainian Catholic Church be raised to patriarchal dignity. The role of the hierarchy, clergy and monastic orders, and laity is discussed. In conclusion ten general observations are presented. Oleh Wolowyna's "Linguistic-Cultural Assimilation and Changes in Religious Denominations of Ukrainian Canadians" provides fifteen tables of religious demographics, socioeconomic characteristics, and linguistic-denominational correlation that illustrate the assimilation of faithful from the mainline Ukrainian Churches (Orthodox and Eastern Catholic) to the Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Fundamentalist ecclesiastical organizations. The text of the article consists of a summary of the tables. (On p. 180, table 14 is misread.)

The last section, "Religion, Ethnicity and Jurisdiction: Case Studies," includes three articles. Vivian Olender, in "Symbolic Manipulation in the Proselytizing of Ukrainians: An Attempt to Create a Protestant Uniate Church," discusses the vision of Canadian Presbyterians for their work among immigrants from continental

Europe and describes the rise and fall of the the Greek Independent Church, a Byzantine-Protestant ecclesiastical body that ultimately failed, according to the author, because it violated Ukrainian religious and cultural sensibilities and abandoned traditional Ukrainian liturgical practices. Evan Lowig's "The Historical Development of Ukrainians within the Orthodox Church in America: A Comparative Study" is rambling, impressionistic, and generally unscholarly. In "Three Parishes: A Study in the Ethnic Use of Religious Symbols," Sophia Matiasz compares three Ukrainian Catholic parishes in Edmonton, Alberta, and offers an interesting if not always compelling anthropological analysis of Ukrainian Canadian church communities. In an elegant afterword, entitled "Eastern Christianity in Modern Culture: Genius and Dilemma," Jaroslav Pelikan heartily toasts the Eastern heritage of the Ukrainian Churches, while discretely reminding them of the many challenges that lie ahead.

The volume is generally well edited and well printed (although the Polish ł appears often as o), and is distributed with a handsome dust-jacket. Unnecessary overlap in contributions on related topics and factual discrepancies are generally avoided. *The Ukrainian Religious Experience: Tradition and the Canadian Cultural Context* contains a number of careful, competent, and thought-provoking essays that are commended to an academic readership. There are, however, a number of mediocre or weak entries that make the volume uneven.

* * *

The Millennium publications discussed above are all welcome additions to the literature on the historical road of Ukrainian Christianity and religious culture. Their strengths and shortcomings are a reflection of the spiritual and cultural achievements and weaknesses of the Ukrainian Christian experience, as well as a gauge of contemporary Western studies of Ukrainian church life. It is no surprise, therefore, that the most satisfying contributions analyze Ukrainian church architecture. Despite the ravages of time and tyranny, church buildings remain a singular collective monument to Volodimer's Christianization and its lasting legacy. The liturgical exigencies of Eastern Christianity and aesthetic aptitude of centuries of professional and folk masters have created a tradition that surpasses the development of other modes of cultural expression, making church architecture the outstanding Ukrainian cultural contribution. Hewryk's and Zuk's articles and the lists and reproductions of churches in the *Encyclopedic Chronology* do justice to this achievement.

The architectural essays in these volumes are noteworthy for another reason. Ukrainian church history in the West has made much progress in the publication of sources preserved in archival repositories in Western Europe, particularly in Rome, and in elaborating narrowly defined topics, but there has been a marked shortage of synthesis, comparison, and thought-provoking analyses of processes and trends. Given the factological character of the *Encyclopedic Chronology* or the specific nature of many of the contributions published in the two collections of conference papers, this selection of Millennium literature remains within the limitations of this

tradition. There is relatively little discussion of underlying or basic causes, the apprehension of which is ultimately the stuff of history. Here the architectural contributions are a happy exception. One does not necessarily have to agree with Zuk's architectural analysis or architectonic philosophy to recognize that his is a serious attempt to understand what is at the heart of Ukrainian church architecture and to elaborate and realize this essential quality in the contemporary context and for contemporary needs. His interpretation of the form of Ukrainian churches throughout history is founded on a simple and convincing notion. According to Zuk, it is not the literal symbols such as domes and iconostases that ultimately determine the "Ukrainianness" of churches. Having relegated aspects of architectural articulation to a position of secondary importance, he tries to identify what definition of space is characteristic of Ukrainian churches. Although one may question whether architecture can be characterized on the basis of form without taking into account functional—in this case liturgical—considerations, Zuk's abstractions are enlightening. The analysis of the other aspects of ecclesiastical life discussed in these Millennium publications is not as ambitious.

The prominence in the Millennium literature of genres of Ukrainian material culture, such as architecture and iconography, stands in contrast to the weak treatment of the Ukrainian Christian literary heritage. With the exception of Senyk's survey of Rus' religious literature, the discussion of language and lettres are virtually absent from these publications. Theology appears only tangentially and the field of philosophy remains completely unbroached. Admittedly, neither the four volumes individually nor taken as a group have as their goal the study of every aspect of the Ukrainian Christian legacy. Nevertheless, the want of theological or philosophical investigations indicates serious lacunae that are characteristic of Ukrainian studies in general. Much more needs to be done in these fields to supplement our understanding of Ukrainian history and culture.

The liturgy in the Ukrainian tradition offers a fascinating subject for careful retrospection and creative analysis. The understanding of liturgical practice in the Ukrainian context over the centuries is intimately tied to broader ecclesiastical and indeed political processes. Ukrainian Orthodox under the leadership of Mohyla in the seventeenth century and again in the twentieth century, and Ukrainian Catholics in the twentieth century in the person of Sheptyts'kyi, were in the liturgical avant-guarde, catalyzing movements of liturgical reform of wide consequence. Yet the liturgical and ritual discussions in the volumes under review do not go beyond the point of superficial description of contemporary problems and purist declarations, indisputable but no longer revealing. So, for example, there is no analysis of the roots and growth of latinization, and the remedy given is a vague summons to an idealized past. The real danger of theological confusion and careless eclecticism in liturgical life needs to be articulated more clearly and persuasively. The academic Millennium forums were surely an opportunity for a more profound argumentation and more penetrating consideration of the nature and future of the Ukrainian liturgical identity and practice.

The Millennium publications also reflect the chronological strengths and weaknesses in the study of Ukrainian church history and culture. Traditionally, the medieval period in Rus' history, with its distinct and limited source base, has attracted much attention in the historiography. At one Millennium conference, a scholar accused of making only a minor contribution to the understanding of medieval Rus' culture in his paper adroitly defended himself by likening his research to "squeezing water out of stone—every drop counts." To be sure, the literature of the Millennium supplements the medieval bibliography and adds to our understanding of some early-modern and twentieth-century ecclesiastic developments. However, entire periods of the Christian legacy in Ukraine, especially the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, remained neglected in the two Millennium conferences whose proceedings are under review. In many respects, the eighteenth century witnessed a precipitous decline in Ukrainian ecclesiastical and cultural life and the study of this decline is important for the understanding of the Ukrainian religious experience. The intellectual, historical, and even theological revival that was occurring in Eastern Ukraine, particularly in Kiev, in the nineteenth century has also been neglected in Ukrainian religious studies. Although not always sympathetic to Ukrainian national concerns, the nineteenth-century revitalization of ecclesiastical, cultural, and intellectual life was a precondition for many twentieth-century developments, and is an important, yet unwritten, chapter in Ukrainian religious history.

There are in fact many unwritten chapters. We know little about the ecclesiastical microstructure in Ukraine. How extensive was the parish network and how did the institution of the parish change over the centuries? What was the role of the clergy and wives of clergy in society? Although researchers have noted the importance of religious minorities in Ukraine, especially the role of Protestants in the sixteenth and seventeenth century,[7] knowledge about Jews and Muslims and their relations with Christian populations does not go far beyond traditional stereotypes. Students of religion in Ukraine are just beginning to raise some of the questions that have for decades been the concern of their colleagues examining religious life in other parts of the world. What was the nature of popular religiosity? In what way does the image of the religious experience change when viewed from the perspective of the pew as well as the pulpit? What was the role of women in religious life and the place of religion in the lives of women? It is perhaps important to recall that a century ago Orest Levyts'kyi posed a number of these questions in his essay on Ukrainian social history. Moreover, the Kiev school of scholars of which he was a part made important contributions to the intellectual history of religion in Ukraine. It is time that these inquiries be revived. Finally, Ukrainian religious history needs to be placed more firmly in the broader context of the Byzantine tradition, Eastern and Western Christianity, and the world religious experience. In this way the role

[7] For the most recent study, see M. V. Dmitriev, *Pravoslavie i Reformatsiia: Reformatsionnye dvizheniia v vostochno-slavianskikh zemliakh Rechi Pospolitoi vo vtoroi polovine XVI v.* (Moscow, 1990), and my review forthcoming in *Russian Review*.

that ecclesiastical and cultural neighbors played in the development of Christianity in Ukraine can be more clearly identified, while much insight will be gained by comparing religious pathways with other trajectories in the Ukrainian legacy.

The formidability of the tasks that await Ukrainianists does not in any way detract from the academic accomplishments wrought by the celebration of the Millennium. The Millennium literature, when it is finally all available, will contribute much to the field of Ukrainian studies. Most importantly, it will deepen our understanding of the continuity of the Ukrainian religious experience over a period of one thousand years, from Volodimer's Kiev to contemporary Ukraine and its beleaguered Churches, and beyond to a broad and diversified diaspora. All serious discussion of East European history and the history of Christianity must take into account this historical phenomenon. Current events will also affect our perception of Ukraine's religious history. A new present with its fresh perspective, questions, and sensibilities will create a "new past." For the Ukrainianist, the political changes that have occurred since the Millennium offer many opportunities. For the first time he or she can expect to have access to sources concealing the answers to old and new queries. These opportunities summon scholars to new responsibilities. Given the state of Ukrainian society and scholarship, one of the central questions confronting the historian of religious life surely must be: "How did Ukraine come to its present moral and spiritual condition?"[8] The Millennium occasioned much reflection and research concerning this puzzle, and the resulting publications are a provisional *compte rendu*. Indeed, it would be a worthy bibliographical contribution to catalogue all of these publications. Such an inventory would serve as a useful reference guide and will be the first step toward a critical examination of the Millennium celebration itself. The anniversary events animated ecclesiastical life and became an important moment in the contemporary transformations occurring in Eastern Europe. As such, the record that the Millennium commemoration leaves behind has much to tell us about the present as well as the past.

Harvard University

[8] Here I borrow from a classic discussion of the state of American religious history, "The Problem of the History of Religion in America," *Church History* 39 (1970): 224–35, reprinted in *Church History: Centennial Issue* 57 (1988), supplement: 127–38, in which Sydney E. Ahlstrom suggests (p. 137) that "the historian's efforts will (or should) be on these long-term and short-term forces that we point to when we are asking the question: 'How did America come to its present moral and spiritual condition?' "

New Old Church Slavonic Manuscripts on Mount Sinai

ROBERT MATHIESEN

THE SLAVONIC MANUSCRIPTS DISCOVERED IN 1975 AT ST. CATHERINE'S MONASTERY ON MOUNT SINAI. By *Ioannis C. Tarnanidis*. Thessaloniki: St Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai, and The Hellenic Association for Slavic Studies, 1988. 363 pp. 1000 copies.

In 1975 a great hoard of medieval manuscripts was discovered in a rubble-filled room inside of the north wall of St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai. News of this discovery was leaked to the West European and Greek press in 1978. Even from the early reports it was clear that the find included not only Greek manuscripts, but also manuscripts in a variety of other languages: Arabic, Syriac, Hebrew, Armenian, Georgian, Ethiopic, Coptic, Latin, and Church Slavonic. Some of the early reports were by scholars who had been permitted briefly to examine the newly discovered manuscripts, namely, Professors S. Agourides, L. Politis, and N. M. Panayotakis from Athens, and Professor M. Altbauer from Jerusalem.[1] Finally, in 1981 Archbishop Damianos of Sinai, head of the autocephalous Orthodox Church of Sinai, gave official notice of the discoveries in a report to the Sixteenth International Congress of Byzantinists, at Vienna.[2]

Two years later, in 1983, the Hellenic Association for Slavic Studies announced that a catalogue of the newly discovered Slavonic manuscripts, written by Professor I. C. Tarnanidis of the University of Thessaloniki, would be ready to send to the press "in a matter of months."[3] However, its publication was delayed until 1988, in part because Professor Tarnanidis was able to make a third study trip to the monastery in 1984, during which the new Slavonic manuscripts were "finally and definitively numbered and photographed" (p. 41). As a result of this trip he was able to reassign a number of fragments to one or another codex.

Professor Tarnanidis's final assessment is that the new finds represent forty-one distinct Slavonic manuscripts, not twenty or so as reported earlier. Five of them are Glagolitic, the rest Cyrillic. The Glagolitic manuscripts are all ascribed by him to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, as are two of the Cyrillic manuscripts. Of the

[1] On the discovery in general see Agourides and Charlesworth (1978), Charlesworth (1979, 1980, 1981), Politis (1980). For its Slavic aspects see Veder (1981: 30–32), Ševčenko (1982), and Altbauer (1987); cf. also Altbauer (1985) and Altbauer and Mareš (1980, 1981).

[2] Δαμιανὸς (1982).

[3] Announcement (1983).

remaining Cyrillic manuscripts, seven are attributed to the thirteenth century, five to the thirteenth or fourteenth century, nineteen to the fourteenth century, and three to the fifteenth or sixteenth century.

Two of the Glagolitic finds and seven of the Cyrillic ones consist of new leaves from codices already known to be in the monastery's library. We now have substantially more folia not only of the two well-known Glagolitic Old Church Slavonic manuscripts (at least 28 new folia of the Euchologion and 32 new folia of the Psalter), but also of three early Cyrillic manuscripts: 17 new folia of the early Rus'ian Psalter, 9 new folia of Dobromir's Tetraevangelion, and 30 new folia of the oldest Serbian Psalter.[4] Professor Tarnanidis provides clear black-and-white photographs of all the new leaves from these five manuscripts, which serve as a necessary supplement to their earlier photographic editions.[5] These photographs occupy slightly more than one third of the entire volume (pp. 219–351) and are by far its most important contribution to Church Slavonic paleography, codicology, textology, and linguistics.

In addition to these photographs, the volume contains a preface (by Archbishop Damianos of Sinai), a foreword and an introduction in Greek and in English (pp. 9–59), descriptions in English of the five Glagolitic manuscripts (pp. 65–108) and of the thirty-six Cyrillic ones (pp. 109–181), and color photographs of individual leaves from all the Glagolitic manuscripts and from about two-thirds of the Cyrillic ones (pp. 185–216).[6] A very brief bibliography, an index, and a list of errata conclude the volume.

It should be noted at once that Professor Tarnanidis was able to spend only thirty-six days at the monastery while preparing the present volume; he was obliged to work chiefly from microfilms and other photographs. He himself considers his book to be not so much a catalogue as a preliminary contribution to the cataloguing and study of the newly discovered manuscripts, which eventually will be followed by a full catalogue of all the Slavic manuscripts, old as well as new, at Mount Sinai (p. 58).[7] He also has felt himself free to treat individual manuscripts in different

[4] The parts of these codices that were already known to scholarship are MSS 37/O, 38/O, 6/O, 43/O, and 8/O, respectively. Further leaves from three of these manuscripts are in the USSR (cf. Svodnyj katalog 1984: nos. 28, 34–36, 71) and in Paris (cf. Stančev 1981: no. 1). The other four manuscripts for which new leaves have been discovered are MSS 2/O+32/N, 16/O+16/N, 40/O+40/N and probably 28/O+35/N. It is not yet clear whether MSS 10/N and 21/O are parts of the same manuscript.

[5] Nahtigal (1941–42), Altbauer (1971, 1973, 1979), Altbauer and Lunt (1978).

[6] Color photographs 7 and 8 have been interchanged by mistake. The leaf from the Psalter of Dimitri (MS 3/N) is photograph 7, whereas photograph 8 reproduces f. 21r of the newly discovered part of the Psalterium Sinaiticum (MS 2/N), matching the black-and-white photograph on p. 269.

[7] It might also be desirable to include in such a catalogue descriptions of all Slavic manuscripts formerly in St. Catherine's Monastery, but removed by scholars and collectors during the last two centuries. Among them are the palimpsest leaves with part of an early Glagolitic liturgical text (an Oktoěchos?) as their undertext (Lunt 1958; Svodnyj katalog 1984: no. 305) and probably also the Kiev Folia (Nimčuk 1983: 7–13; Svodnyj katalog 1984: no. 1).

ways, describing some at considerable length, others in cursory fashion. Thus, the descriptions of all but seven of the Cyrillic manuscripts are quite brief, occupying no more than two pages each; and even the longest descriptions of Cyrillic manuscripts (MSS 20/N, 24/N) are only about eight pages long. In contrast, twenty-two pages are devoted to the description of the new leaves from the Euchologium Sinaiticum (MS 1/N).[8] Regarded as a preliminary contribution, Professor Tarnanidis's book merits the praise of his fellow Slavists and sharpens their eagerness to have a full catalogue of all Slavic manuscripts at Mount Sinai.[9]

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All five of the Glagolitic manuscripts are Old Church Slavonic in the wide sense of the term, and in their totality they constitute by far the largest body of new material to be discovered in that language since 1845–1850. It is clear that all future grammars and dictionaries of Old Church Slavonic will have to take these five manuscripts into account, and that full facsimile and critical editions of them should be published as soon as possible.

Of the Glagolitic manuscripts, it is MS 5/N, the Sinai Missal, that may prove to be the most interesting, inasmuch as the next oldest Church Slavonic missals (other than small fragments) are about three centuries younger than it. The badly damaged character of this manuscript has prevented Professor Tarnanidis from providing a detailed account of its contents, but even the brief description and the two photographs of it which he gives have led this reviewer to the conclusion that MS 5/N is not a separate manuscript at all, but a further part of the Euchologium Sinaiticum, MS 37/O + 1/N. The present separate binding of MS 5/N, of which only a small fragment is left, need not be original; the hand and orthography of its first scribe, as well as its layout and its size, all appear to be the same as those of the Euchologium.[10]

Further support for this conclusion comes from a recent discovery made by Professor J. Schaeken (1989), who has observed that some of the brief scraps of the new manuscript's text that Professor Tarnanidis has printed correspond much more closely to the Byzantine Liturgy of St. Peter than they do to the Roman Catholic

Cf. also Svodnyj katalog 1984: nos. 166 and 304 (both of which, together with no. 305, are parts of Sinai MS 34/O), as well as nos. 321 and 322.

8 None of the descriptions, whether long or short, are quite on the level of sophistication which one might have hoped for if Professor Tarnanidis had had more time to work with the original manuscripts. For some general discussion of the desiderata see Mathiesen (1987).

9 Cf. other reviews by Birnbaum (1989), Bláhová (1989), Tkadlčík (1989), and Velčeva (1988).

10 Note, too, that the early Glagolitic Kiev Folia, although probably not originally a part of the Euchologium, may have been preserved in the same binding with it for a time, since they have been severely trimmed to the same size as the leaves of the Euchologium. Moreover, the later Glagolitic hand of the added text on f. 1r of the Kiev Folia appears to be the same as the Glagolitic hand of the Easter Table added to f. IIr (Sreznevskij IIIr) of the Euchologium. Cf. Pantelić (1985: 25–41) and Schaeken (1989: 36–37).

Order of the Mass.[11] In an article which seems not to have been noticed either by Professor Tarnanidis or by Professor Schaeken, the present reviewer had already argued that the Euchologium Sinaiticum originally contained a text of the Liturgy of St. Peter (in a different redaction than that of the two known Cyrillic manuscripts) as well as one of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, and that the detached fragment of the Euchologium Sinaiticum known as Uspenskij's Bifolium preserves the end of the latter text and the beginning of the former.[12] He is now confident that a much larger fragment of this same text of the Liturgy of St. Peter is still extant in MS 5/N, and that Uspenskij's Bifolium belongs to this part of the Euchologium Sinaiticum.

Thus we come to see ever more clearly how the Euchologium Sinaiticum, which is not a homogeneous manuscript either in its language or in its texts, consists of translations made during several distinct periods in the early history of Church Slavonic. The Church Slavonic translation of the Liturgy of St. Peter that is preserved in this manuscript probably belongs to one of the oldest of these strata, as does the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom.[13] A full critical edition of all extant parts of the Euchologium Sinaiticum, such as Professor Tarnanidis proposes to make (pp. 73–74), is therefore greatly needed. However, such an edition cannot be made until MS 5/N has been examined with more care, in order to determine whether or not its leaves belong to the Euchologium. Such a determination will have to take physical as well as textual evidence into account.

Fortunately, even the severely damaged condition of these leaves need not prevent a properly equipped scholar from editing them, for the technology now exists not only to conserve the manuscript—to separate its leaves, to clean them and to stabilize their condition—but also to produce photographs of them which will be much more legible than the original leaves themselves, even after they have been conserved. In addition, it has recently become possible to determine by laboratory means to within approximately thirty years just when the Euchologium Sinaiticum, or any other Glagolitic or Cyrillic manuscript, was written, if its ink meets certain chemical criteria.[14] In the course of the next two or three decades, this new

11 For the Liturgy of St. Peter in Church Slavonic see the studies by Vašica (1939–46, 1940), Dostál (1965), Laurenčik (1971), Tkadlčík (1971), Mareš (1977, 1981a, 1981b, 1982), and Robinson (1988). Prior to Schaeken's discovery, a Church Slavonic version of the Liturgy of St. Peter had been known only from two Cyrillic manuscripts of the seventeenth century and from the scant traces of a different, much earlier text which Vašica had succeeded in extracting from the oldest extant Church Slavonic version of the Roman Catholic Ordo Missae (preserved in some of the oldest Glagolitic missals, from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries). Even the limited material that Tarnanidis gives permits one to see that the version of MS 5/N corresponds more closely to the traces of the Liturgy of St. Peter in the Glagolitic Ordo Missae than does the version of the two seventeenth-century Cyrillic manuscripts.

12 Mathiesen (1985).

13 Cf. Dostál (1965, 1966).

14 Much of this technology has been developed only within the last decade, and the great majority of specialists in medieval manuscripts is still poorly informed about it. Moreover, not all of it has been described in print, and what is in print is often in publications not usually read by manuscript specialists. See especially Richards (1977), Benton, Gillespie, and Soha (1979), Hellinga (1982:89–94, pl. IV), Sternberg and Brayer (1983), and Neff (1986), as well as a

technology will give us not only a number of newly legible texts, but also much more accurate dates for the many medieval Glagolitic and Cyrillic manuscripts that serve as primary sources for the history of most Slavic languages and literatures. This may, in turn, require us to reexamine some of the commonly accepted results of past scholarship in these fields. Truly these are exciting times for a Slavic philologist to work in!

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A comparison of Professor Tarnanidis's work with Altbauer's brief reports gives rise to the question whether one Glagolitic manuscript—namely, a large homilary—may have been overlooked during the cataloguing of the new discoveries.[15] Professor Altbauer was able to see the new Glagolitic manuscripts for only about twenty minutes, in May 1979. He wishes it to be clearly understood that his identification of such a homilary is based on nothing more than his hasty first impression of the contents of a large number of Glagolitic leaves which he was not allowed time to examine thoroughly, and thus it may prove to be erroneous. Nevertheless, the question can only be answered by a thorough reexamination of the whole body of newly discovered manuscripts which have not yet been identified and catalogued. The importance of this manuscript, if it exists, would justify the labor of such a reexamination.

Tantalized by the early reports, and by a small number of photographs privately obtained, scholars have already applied for photographs of the newly discovered manuscripts, only to be informed that such requests would not be honored until the first catalogues of the finds were published.[16] Now that Professor Tarnanidis's catalogue of the Slavonic manuscripts has appeared, one hopes that it will be possible to order such photographs directly from St. Catherine's Monastery. Slavic philologists in many lands are eager to begin studying these new manuscripts.

Brown University

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recent news report in *Time* (14 March 1988: 80–81), on the technology to enhance photographs of medieval manuscripts. For the new method of dating medieval manuscripts see McNeil (1984).

15 Veder (1981: 31), Altbauer (1987: 39).

16 Cf. Ševčenko (1982: 120).

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REVIEWS

THE *PATERIK* OF THE KIEVAN CAVES MONASTERY. Translated and edited by *Muriel Heppell.* Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature, English Translations, vol. 1. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1989. lii, 262 pp. $25.00.

This important work will already be familiar to specialists in Slavic history. It is not as well known as it should be to Western scholars; this translation, by Dr. Muriel Heppell, therefore fills a serious gap in our records of the ecclesiastical history of the Middle Ages. It should prove to be a work of great value to all scholars in this field who are not acquainted with its original language.

The *Paterik* is the only detailed record of monastic history in Rus' which has come down to us from the pre-Mongol period. It is therefore a unique source for the development of monasticism not only in Kiev but in Western Rus' as a whole. The work was written in the early thirteenth century, largely under the inspiration of Simon, bishop of Vladimir and Suzdal', who had himself been a monk in the Caves Monastery. It incorporates earlier works, the Life of St. Feodosij written by the Kievan monk Nestor in the late eleventh century, and excerpts from the life of the monastery's founder, St. Antonij, obviously written in the same monastery and of early but uncertain date. The later part of the collection is almost certainly the work of two authors, Bishop Simon himself and his contemporary and friend the monk Polikarp, with a few later additions. The earliest extant manuscript dates from 1406, further and slightly fuller copies being made in 1460 and 1462.

The earliest tradition of the founding of the Caves Monastery goes back to St. Antonij, a hermit who about the middle of the eleventh century took up residence in a cave which he found near the city of Kiev. Simon, a Varangian prince of Kiev, was so much impressed by St. Antonij that he decided to found a monastery. The building of the church dates from the time of Antonij's successor St. Feodosij, who was abbot of the community until 1074. The manuscript makes it clear that "pious princes, Christ-loving boyars, and venerable monks" all played their part in the development of this remarkable institution.

The inspiration clearly came from Greece. St. Antonij had spent some time on Mount Athos, and he desired to copy the lives of the desert fathers as recorded in the Lausiac History and the Life of St. Antony by Athanasius. From Greece also came the special devotion of the house to the Theotokos, the Mother of God, who, it was believed, had bestowed an icon of herself upon certain Greek craftsmen and commanded them to build her a church at Kiev. The ordering of the monastery always showed strongly the influence of the eremitic life, although it is clear that at the same time it was by no means cut off from the secular world, and that successive princes of Kiev were in the habit of coming to the monks for advice, and even of staying to meals (which Prince Izjaslav declared to be tastier than anything prepared

in the royal kitchen; he was firmly told that this was due to the blessings sought by the monks at every stage of the preparation). In fact, the lives of the monks were, for the most part, extremely ascetic, although backsliders were not unknown and some of them seem to have accumulated private property in defiance of the rule.

Very interesting comparisons might be made between the *Paterik* and the lives of some of the monastic saints of the West, notably the Life of St. Columba and that of St. Dunstan, both of which show the same interaction between the world of the ascetic monk and that of the adviser to statesmen. The career of Bishop Simon of Vladimir and Suzdal' invites a comparison with that of a slightly earlier English bishop, St. Hugh, the Carthusian bishop of Lincoln, who showed the same combination of ascetic devotion with remarkable firmness in dealing with a recalcitrant prince.

Of the influence of the Caves Monastery upon later Rus' monastic history I am not qualified to speak, but clearly it was very strong. Some seventy monasteries whose records are now lost are known to have existed before the Mongol invasions. Moreover, as Dr. Heppell herself points out, the monks were intimately involved in the social and political life of the city of Kiev, so that the work throws considerable light on the history of the development of the medieval principalities in Rus'. For the Western student of ecclesiastical history the value of the *Paterik* is very great indeed, since it provides a counter-balance to our general preoccupation with the rules and practices of Western Christendom. The book deserves to be widely known and generally used by ecclesiastical historians.

Of the merits of the translation and editing of this work I, as a Western historian with no knowledge of the language, am not competent to give a critical judgement. The book is clear and vivid in style, and the editing appears to be meticulously careful. I think that the author is to be congratulated upon a really unusual contribution to our knowledge of the Rus' church and state in this period.

Rosalind Hill
Queen Mary and Westfield College,
University of London

ORTHOGRAPHY AND ORTHODOXY: CONSTANTINE KOSTENEČKI'S TREATISE ON THE LETTERS (SKAZANIE IZЬJAVLENNO O PISMENEX). By *Harvey Goldblatt*. Studia Historica et Philologica, 16. Florence: Le Lettere, 1987. xii, 428 pp.

There are many things to praise in this study of the major extant programmatic document connected with the revision of the church books carried out under the direction of Patriarch Euthymius of Trnovo and his students in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Most welcome is the thorough revision of previous investigations. Goldblatt's work is a reaction to the highly influential interpretative tradition established by Vatroslav Jagić, which has treated the *Skazanie* as a failed essay in

the orthography and grammar of Church Slavonic in one of its local recensions. Goldblatt seeks in the heart of the book—a critical paraphrase of the *Skazanie* in English accompanied by an immensely valuable commentary—to elicit from the text and its context information on Constantine's aims and methods. The commentary itself, which ranges across the fields of history, theology, and philology, is convincing testimony to Goldblatt's argument that the *Skazanie*'s internal logic is best revealed if we approach it not as a grammatical treatise or an orthographic manual, but as a "denunciation" of orthographic deviation. The author describes the *Skazanie* as a "theoretical peroration" that "sets forth a general theory of Orthodox Slavic verbal expression grounded in the close connection between 'orthography' (*pravopisanie*) and 'orthodoxy' (*pravoslavie*), as well as a cultural and religious program which aims at the ideal formation of Christian man."

Following a model offered by Erasmus, Goldblatt seeks to provide in his critical paraphrase a "*critical* reading of the treatise" that is "an *interpretative version* of the work which aims to remain *faithful* to the letter of the text while staying free of the restrictions imposed by a literal translation." The choice to paraphrase rather than to translate was one of the more important methodological decisions that shape this investigation. And I am convinced that it was a felicitous choice: the use of paraphrase plus commentary allows the author to offer his reading of the work by both reporting and commenting on Constantine's statements. But perhaps it would have been useful to devote more attention to a discussion of the aims of a critical paraphrase. For instance, should a paraphrase always make sense, and should it have a stylistic unity? In other words, with whose voice should a paraphrase speak? Some puzzles in the paraphrase are certainly due to the fact that the original presents extremely difficult problems, and the author preferred to offer a literal rendering of an obscure passage rather than to risk paraphrasing incorrectly or to omit the passage altogether. In other instances the sense that Kostenečki intended seems relatively clear, but Goldblatt chose to stay close to Kostenečki's wording. In such cases the author decided to speak in Kostenečki's voice to the extent possible. At other times, the paraphrase takes on a much different voice, employing terms that belong to modern linguistic terminology.

Goldblatt points out some of the fascinating parallels between the programs of the Euthymian reforms and those of early Italian Humanism. His discussion of Kostenečki's linguistic ideas as a kind of Orthodox Slavic *Questione della lingua* has far-reaching implications for our understanding of this important stage in the history of debates among Orthodox Slavs over the proper nature and use of their linguistic media. Could a similar confrontation between another aspect of the humanistic philological revival and the *Skazanie* prove equally fruitful? Goldblatt shows that it makes little sense to ask of Constantine what, in specific terms, the orthographic norm of the corrected books should be; Constantine is much more interested in demonstrating that the books have become corrupt, that they should be corrected, and that a properly corrected text should maintain certain *types* of orthographic distinctions. But could we not—without transgressing against the spirit of Constantine's work—ask other, more specific questions about the corrections of the books: that is, what does Constantine understand about the aims and methods of

textual criticism, about the mechanisms whereby texts are transmitted, corrupted, and corrected? These questions suggest themselves for a number of reasons: because a revived interest in textual criticism lay at the heart of Renaissance Humanism from its earliest stages; because Constantine may have known of the comments on textual criticism scattered throughout the works of early authors such as Origen, Jerome, and Augustine; and because Constantine sometimes gives enticing hints concerning his knowledge of these topics. For example, he is aware that one type of scribal error could make one word of two or two of one, and for this reason his orthographic reform would seek to maintain the distinctiveness of word boundaries. Further, Constantine is aware that other scribal errors result from the practice of reading a text aloud to a copyist, and consequently another part of his reform would seek to make crucial orthographic distinctions a part of orthoepy. Would an investigation of the examples Constantine gives of corrected and corrupt texts offer any more information on this topic?

I raise these questions as a tribute to the importance of this milestone work. Scholars will no longer be able to start from the unexamined and, as this work shows, false assumption that the *Skazanie* is a grammatical tract and then profess surprise and dismay when they discover that it is not very successful at what it never set out to do. Goldblatt's discussion of the complicated textual tradition of works related to the *Skazanie* as well as his paraphrase and commentary will be obligatory reading for anyone wishing to understand the Orthodox Slavic philological revival of the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, and this thoughtful, revisionary reading will certainly suggest new directions of investigation.

David Frick
University of California, Berkeley

THE BYZANTINE REVIVAL: 780–842. By *Warren Treadgold*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988. xv, 504 pp. $49.50.

The Byzantine Revival 780–842 is a thorough analysis of the period immediately preceding what is usually regarded as the "Golden Age" of Byzantium. Between the deaths of Constantine V in A.D. 775 and Theophilus in 842, the empire experienced a remarkable revival in its political and military strength and in its art and culture. Treadgold begins with the death of Leo IV in 780, proceeds through the reigns of Irene and her son Constantine VI, and examines in succession the reigns of Nicephorus I, Michael Rangabe, Leo the Armenian, and Michael II. He concludes with the reign of the erratic Theophilus, who is considered both the lucky inheritor of his predecessors' reforms and the architect of far-reaching political and military reorganization. The greatness of the next four hundred years, according to Treadgold, was built upon the religious unity restored by Irene, the financial system of Nicephorus I, and the civil and military reorganization of Theophilus.

The most obvious strength of *The Byzantine Revival 780–842* is its clear organization. It begins with a general overview of the empire in 780—its territory and economy, culture, army and administration, and the international political situation. The volume concludes with a similar outline for 842. Treadgold then examines these six factors for each of six major reigns between these dates.

The chapters correspond to the major reigns and conclude with overviews of each reign's importance for later Byzantine successes or failures. Organizing the work by reign rather than issue may make it more difficult for the general reader to see the continuity in such issues as the Studite religious conflict or in political contracts with the West, but detailed analyses of these questions are available elsewhere. Treadgold's narrative is clear and concise in part because minor problems, and discrepancies between the original sources, are excised from the main text and preserved in the endnotes, which cover sixty-seven pages and contain much additional information and thought. Meticulous references to original Greek and Arabic sources make this book a particularly useful tool for further inquiry, while Treadgold's analysis of Greek and Arabic sources—in particular the tortuous and confused accounts of the campaigns of Theophilus reported by Genesius and Theophanes Continuatus—is detailed and exact. An extensive glossary defines technical military terms and words left untranslated. Ultimately, it is this clarity of organization and analysis which most recommends *The Byzantine Revival.* Treadgold makes a complex and perhaps less well-known period of Byzantine history accessible to the general reader as well as to the Byzantinist.

The first cornerstone in Treadgold's theme of revival is the restitution of the unofficial and official reigns of Irene. While her reign witnessed serious setbacks against the Bulgars and Arabs, and her power as basileus was always precarious, Treadgold argues that, by guaranteeing the early triumph of the Iconophile party, Irene brought about the beginnings of a cultural revival. He also demonstrates that Iconoclasm lacked the intellectual depth of the Iconophile party. Iconoclasm was rapidly dying, notwithstanding later lapses during the reigns of Leo V (813–820) and Theophilus (829–842). Irene had further problems because as a woman she was unable to perform the essential imperial task of leading the army, and by relying upon others she became vulnerable. The remission of Constantinople's head-tax and the suspension of taxes on religious institutions were political necessities because of Irene's weak position as a woman basileus. These measures also meant her reign was a financial disaster. Fantastic marriage negotiations with Charlemagne and her refusal to pay the tribute she had negotiated with the caliph al-Mahdi, which resulted in thirteen years of debilitating warfare in Anatolia, are but two examples of her government's muddled foreign policy.

Irene was followed by Nicephorus I, who, after a promising beginning, was killed fighting the Bulgars. Byzantine control of the Northern Balkans collapsed, initiating an era of Bulgarian domination until the time of Basil I. After this battle the extensive new territories in Thrace and Macedonia, which Irene had so painstakingly wrested from the Slavs, were also lost. However, Treadgold understands that Nicephorus's forced resettlement of the Peloponnesus and Northern Hellas was far more important to Byzantine control of the Balkans than any momentary defeat. It

is this resettlement which allowed Byzantine rulers of the ninth and tenth centuries to dominate the Balkans. Nevertheless, Treadgold passes casually over Slavic resistance to Byzantine control, assuming that they are either rapidly assimilated or that their numbers were never enough to pose a permanent threat to the Byzantine settlers. This is probably a simplification of a very difficult and frequently violent process. Treadgold mentions a revolt in 807 and another in 841–843. As late as the fourteenth century, families with Slavic names were still found near Mistra in the Peloponnesus, this time fighting the French. These examples seem to indicate a degree of cultural continuity which is not apparent from Treadgold's narrative.

Treadgold's previous work, *Byzantine State Finances*, is the basis of his discussion of Nicephorus's financial reforms. Treadgold considers these reforms the emperor's most important contribution to Byzantine survival. His explanations of the cost of feeding and arming an individual thematic soldier and of the value in coin of a day's labor give a true-to-life perspective to his discussion of Byzantine finances. Nicephorus eliminated Irene's tax exemptions and carried out a meticulous census. Farmers were again made responsible for their neighbor's unpaid taxes, and revenues revived. By 842 the state was capable of maintaining an army 50 percent larger than that of 780 and of maintaining large, regular fleets. This increase in the number of thematic troops was completely necessary, for the Caliphate, though fractured by factional intrigue, was still capable of producing armies 50 percent larger and far more professional than anything possessed by the Byzantines. The new Aghlabid front in Sicily, the development of an Arab state on Crete after 828, and large-scale Rūs raids in the Black Sea all meant the Byzantine military situation was vastly more complicated in 842 than in 780. The tax reform of Nicephorus, combined with an increase in population, enabled the empire to survive these stresses. The empire successfully passed through the incompetence of Michael Rangabe, through the religious struggles centered upon the radical Studite monastery, and through three years of chaotic civil war between Michael II and Thomas the Slav. Theophilus received an empire that was wealthy and whose borders were relatively intact.

Despite Theophilus's suppression of Iconoclasm, and despite the disaster of the Amorium campaign, Treadgold praises the reign of Theophilus as a period of "brilliance at home" and "brilliance abroad." Theophilus's great contribution to Byzantium was not his doubtful military prowess, which resulted in the sack of Amorium and the destruction of its population. His genius lay in recognizing the failings of his army and in his ability to implement a successful reorganization of military and civil administration. Theophilus's subdivision of the standard geographical unit of the theme into smaller banda became the regular civil and military organization, and survived the dissolution of the theme system in the eleventh century. Reorganization gave more responsibility to local frontier commanders and increased their ability to respond to raids. Several notable successes rewarded this policy even before Theophilus's death. In future years it was to prove capable of handling all but the largest Arab raids.

Treadgold does an admirable job of explaining the Byzantine perspective on issues as broad as Iconoclasm or as narrow as a bride show. Although he has little sympathy for the Studite monks, whose religious motives are often subordinated to their political program in this narrative, Treadgold notes that Byzantium was a society which believed that political success and religious purity were inseparable. The Byzantines believed that no military or political revival could last without a corresponding revival of religious orthodoxy. In this context Treadgold's demonstration of Byzantine flexibility concerning internal reform and outside intrusions is one of the most illuminating aspects of his analysis. It is good to be reminded that such flexibility existed, and that extensive changes were regularly carried out in a society where the word "innovation" often had a pejorative connotation.

What was the "Byzantine revival"? According to Treadgold it began with an increase in population which made possible the rich state we find under Theophilus and his successors. This wealth enabled the state to field larger armies and to meet more numerous threats in Sicily, the Black Sea, and the Aegean. The death of the Iconoclast party, vital only in an army loyal to the memory of the militant Constantine V, meant both cultural revival and a firmer definition of Orthodoxy. One point is perhaps not stressed strongly enough in the concluding chapter, "The State of the Empire in 842": the empire continued to be surrounded by militarily active, hostile neighbors. The Arabs would complete their conquest of Sicily in 902, the Rūs would continue periodic raids, while the Bulgarians would reach their height after 917 under Tsar Symeon. Furthermore, Arabs operating from Crete would make Byzantine ships plying the Aegean miserable for another one hundred and nineteen years. Where there had once been the dual threat of Arab and Bulgarian invasion, there were now many new threats and many new fronts for the army to deal with. Despite the revival and Theophilus's reforms, the thematic army remained a poorly trained citizen levy supplemented by a core of better trained troops from the capital. Its performance remained entirely tied to the quality of the man who led it.

However, the army is perhaps the least important aspect of the revival. Byzantium had survived the Arab invasions, repopulated Greece, re-established control over much of the Adriatic, and, with the dissolution of the Frankish Empire, had even increased its influence in Italy. By 842 the great missionary work that would bring the Byzantine Church and elements of Byzantine culture to the Bulgars, the Rūs, and the Slavs was well underway. It would be too bold to say that in 842 the empire was master even of its own section of the Mediterranean, but Byzantium's survival was no longer in question.

The Byzantine Revival: 780–842 is an excellent, detailed overview of this tumultuous period. It presents a clear and engaging account of the personalities and factors which enabled the Byzantine Empire to survive and be handed down prosperous and well organized to men such as John Tzimisces and Basil II. The book's clarity of organization and meticulous references to primary sources make it an in-depth guidebook and starting point for the sources and problems of this period. It should occupy a place in the library of every Byzantinist and a place on the shelf of every

general reader interested in living history. We can only await the completion of Treadgold's general Byzantine history for a similarly systematic and thorough treatment of the entire Byzantine period.

John Birkenmeier
Boston College

RENAISSANCE CULTURE IN POLAND: THE RISE OF HUMANISM, 1470–1543. By *Harold B. Segel*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1989. x, 285 pp. $34.50.

THE POLISH RENAISSANCE IN ITS EUROPEAN CONTEXT. Edited by *Samuel Fiszman*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1988. xxviii, 478 pp. $50.00.

"I learned to speak the barbarous words of the girl's Sarmatian language," wrote the German humanist poet Conrad Celtis, in Latin verse, describing a romance from his period in Poland around 1490. "But she was better able to bend the crude language to me as she joined tempting kisses to my lips" (p. 103). The verse is quoted, in Latin and in English translation, in Harold Segel's *Renaissance Culture in Poland: The Rise of Humanism*, a beautifully conceived and extremely valuable work of literary history and criticism on the Latin culture, especially poetry, of the early Polish Renaissance. In focusing on Latin culture, Segel stresses the unity of civilization in Renaissance Europe, including Eastern Europe, when humanists "shared, whatever their national origins, a common literary language" (p. 3). Celtis, though he might require "barbarous words" of Polish to get his message across to the girl, would write about her, and even about her language—"Sarmaticae linguae barbara verba"—in Latin, for the consumption of humanists in Poland and all over Europe.

Segel, emphasizing Poland's full participation in the Renaissance, mentions the many contacts between Erasmus and the Polish humanists, and quotes Erasmus praising the Poles in 1523: "I congratulate a people who, though formerly ill regarded as barbarian, now so blossoms in letters, laws, customs, religion, and in whatever else may spare it the reproach of uncouthness, that it can vie with the most distinguished and praised of nations" (p. 13). Segel himself raises the possibility that this was a "backhanded compliment," and certainly it suggested at least some sense of a gap, even a closing one, between Poland and more "distinguished" nations. The word "barbarian" occurred, however, not only in the observations of foreigners like Celtis and Erasmus, for Segel shows Ianicius (Janicki), as the last and best of the exclusively Latin poets in Poland, preoccupied with the same issue. He wrote of expelling "barbarism" from Poland, and achieving "a civilized way of life" (pp. 232 and 248). Apparently, some conception of difference and hierarchy among nations was sustained even in the Renaissance, even among Latin humanists, whether Poles

or foreigners. "I, Celtis," wrote the German visitor, "head for the eastern realms where the primitive Pole works the empty plains and inhabits poorly built huts" (p. 89). On the other hand, Dantiscus (Dantyszek), publishing poems in Italy, presented himself as a Sarmatian "among Latin swans" (p. 166).

Segel's book begins with Gregory of Sanok, a patron of humanists as archbishop of Lviv, also a poet whose poetry has been largely lost, and the book ends with an epilogue on the Latin poetry of Kochanowski. Segel covers two influential foreign humanists in Poland, the Italian Callimachus and the German Celtis, and the heart of the book focuses on the most important of the Polish humanist poets, Hussovianus (Hussowczyk), Cricius (Krzycki), Dantiscus, and Ianicius. There is also a chapter on Copernicus, not as an astronomer, but as the humanist translator of Byzantine letters from Greek into Latin. "Rare indeed," writes Segel, "was the Polish humanist for whom poetry was more than a welcome respite from concerns of church and state, politics and diplomacy, science and learning" (p. 9). One of the most valuable aspects of his book is this emphasis on the historical context of such contemporary concerns, not fundamentally poetic but far from irrelevant to the poetry of the humanists. In the case of Dantiscus, a diplomat and then a bishop, there was poetry celebrating the defeat of Muscovy, denouncing the rise of the Reformation, and lamenting "The Calamities of Our Age," especially the Ottoman threat. Cricius, a court official and then primate of Poland, also wrote against Muscovy and against Luther, while chastening the Baltic Protestants with classical imagery in a poem on "Why Neptune Diverted the Vistula from Gdańsk." Royal weddings inspired the humanists to important occasional poetry; Cricius established himself both as a poet and a courtier with poems on the wedding of Zygmunt I to Barbara Zapolya in 1512, while Dantiscus wrote a long poem, full of classical imagery, to celebrate that king's next wedding to Bona Sforza in 1518.

This attention to context makes Segel's book important for the study not only of literature in Poland, but also of cultural history. Yet the book's greatest virtue is its attention to the poetry itself; the poets are generously presented in their verse, in Latin and in English, not as mere résumés of their worldly careers and published titles. One of the most interesting chapters—and also for Ukrainian studies—concerns Hussovianus and his unusual long poem on the bison of Lithuania, originally composed for Pope Leo X, but eventually dedicated to Bona Sforza in Cracow in 1523. Segel discusses it as a poem about Lithuania: "We see such wondrous things in our land." Through the bison Hussovianus represented remote Lithuania to Cracow, and, since he wrote in Latin, to all of Europe: "You may doubt what I am recounting, but you can see these things taking place before your own eyes throughout Lithuania" (pp. 145–46). Segel discusses the ideas of Kasprowicz on Hussovianus and Mickiewicz as poets of Lithuania, and also proposes a comparison between Hussovianus and Miłosz as poets of folklore in Lithuania. Thus, the Latin poetry of Renaissance Poland may be related to the later Polish literature of Poland and Lithuania. Segel also mentions the competing claims upon Hussovianus by Polish, Lithuanian, Belorussian, and Ukrainian national traditions, aired in Soviet

criticism of recent decades. Beyond national controversy, Segel shows that the beauty and interest of this Latin poetry by Polish humanists must still command the attention of the twentieth century.

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Segel's book is dedicated—in Latin—to the memory of Wiktor Weintraub, and it is an article by Weintraub himself, on Kochanowski, which forms the keystone of another related volume, *The Polish Renaissance in its European Context.* This collection of papers, edited by Samuel Fiszman, was the outcome of a conference held at Indiana University in 1982 which focused on Kochanowski in particular and the Polish Renaissance in general. Weintraub's marvelous contribution, published with the collection in 1988, the year of his death, concerns the question of Kochanowski's fame. Weintraub identifies the puzzling gap between the poet's early preeminence of reputation and the relatively late publication in print of his most important works. His psalms appeared in 1579, his laments in 1580, and the collected *fraszki* only in 1584, the year of his death. Yet Weintraub traces Kochanowski's fame back to the publication of the *Satyr* in 1564, and shows how that work seized upon a conventional genre of conservative criticism, and both subverted and transcended that genre by its ambiguity of narrative intent. Weintraub then briefly surveys Kochanowski's work to demonstrate the array of forms with which he virtually invented Polish literature in the Polish language. This essay on Kochanowski is a small scholarly masterpiece of wit, insight, elegance, and erudition. It is effectively illustrated, as is the entire volume, by interesting reproductions of title pages from the Polish Renaissance.

The other standout among the Kochanowski essays, another essay of superb erudition and exceptional interest also for Ukrainian studies, is that of Paulina Lewin on Kochanowski as "The Model Poet in Eastern Slavic Lectures." She has carefully traced the exemplary role of Kochanowski through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, not in Cracow or Warsaw, but in Vilnius and Kiev, at Jesuit schools and Orthodox schools, and even outside the Commonwealth in Muscovy. Lewin's attention to detail makes this essay on the"model poet" itself a model study of cultural connections and the diffusion of literary values in Eastern Europe. Among the historical essays on the Renaissance, Paul Knoll uses a similar methodological approach to excellent scholarly effect, considering the details of the curriculum at the university of Cracow in order to measure the pace of the Renaissance in Poland. Knoll convincingly proposes a "more cautious evaluation" of the Polish Renaissance, distinguishing between early manifestations of the Renaissance in "extracurricular" events and later integration into the university curriculum. Careful attention to the university also repays scholarly effort in Andrzej Wróblewski's valuable piece on the important Cracow astronomers who preceded Copernicus.

Other fine work has been contributed by Janusz Tazbir on the Polish Reformation as an "intellectual adventure" of social and political, more than purely religious, significance, and by Andrzej Walicki on the Polish Renaissance evaluated as the "political heritage" of the Enlightenment and Romanticism. Samuel Fiszman offers not only an introductory overview, but also a very interesting piece on "The

Significance of Polish Renaissance and Baroque for Eastern Slavic Nations." Here he considers not only cultural influence upon those nations, especially the importance of printing in Cracow for Belorussia and Ukraine, but also the ways in which the Polish Renaissance brought the lands of Eastern Europe to the attention of Western Europe. Fiszman particularly traces the influence of Miechowita's geographical *Treatise on the Two Sarmatias*, published in Cracow in Latin in 1517 and reprinted throughout the sixteenth century all over Europe, in numerous editions, translations, and anthologies. This dual directional approach to the significance of the Polish Renaissance for the Slavic nations suggests the complexity of cultural channeling in this period, and also perhaps the anachronism of an analytical division between "Western Europe" and "Eastern Europe" in discussions of the Renaissance.

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Antoni Mączak begins his contribution on Polish society by wondering whether the term "Renaissance" really fits this period in Polish history. Certainly he is right to wonder, since this is a case where a historiographical term that was especially tailored to Italy has been broadly applied across Europe. At the same time this is not an instance of particular historiographical highhandedness with regard to Poland, or Eastern Europe generally, since the same priority of Italian considerations has prevailed in the history of other lands as well. Tadeusz Ulewicz, in his discussion of "Polish Humanism and its Italian Sources," points out from the start that such sources were equally important "for the other parts of Europe." In other words, to admit Italian sources is not to express any particular Polish dependency. Segel's *Renaissance Culture in Poland* was published in 1989, the *annus mirabilis* for Poland and Eastern Europe, arguably the year in which Eastern Europe functionally ceased to exist as a distinct geopolitical entity. Segel's introduction reminds us that "the Renaissance did not halt at some arbitrary boundary dividing Europe into western and eastern halves," and proposes the Renaissance as "a splendid frame within which to examine the *Europeanness* of the east Europeans," to recognize that their societies were not "peripheral," their cultures not "derivative" (pp. 1–2). The Renaissance helps us to appreciate "the artificiality of the walls, concrete or otherwise, now dividing Europe into two antagonistic camps"—and now no longer (p. 15). In an extraordinary preface to *The Polish Renaissance in its European Context*, Czesław Miłosz admits that he finds in Kochanowski an "escape" and "reprieve" from modern Polish history. Perhaps the Renaissance is an escape into the past which now may point the way toward the future.

Lawrence Wolff
Boston College

HIERONIM RADZIEJOWSKI: STUDIUM WŁADZY I OPOZYCJI. By *Adam Kersten* Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1988. 685 pp. 1600 zł.

Hieronim Radziejowski is the last book of Adam Kersten, professor at Marie Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin, who died in 1984. Those interested in Ukrainian history will know him for his discussion of historical accuracy in Henryk Sienkiewicz's novels, his examination of Stanisław Kostka-Napierski's attempt in 1651 to incite a revolt in Podhale that would have worked to Khmel'nyts'kyi's advantage, and his authoritative biography of the Cossacks' and the Hetmanate's great military foe, Stefan Czarniecki. Through his work on Vice-Chancellor Radziejowski (1612–1667), Kersten once again makes a major contribution to the study of the Khmel'nyts'kyi uprising and the early Cossack Hetmanate.

In both his teaching and his writing, Adam Kersten exemplified three virtues. He posed all-encompassing questions about the functioning of state and society and provoked others to rethink their assumptions. He took his calling as a researcher so seriously that he sought out and examined all sources on a given topic. Finally, he assumed his students and his readers were intelligent participants in his search to understand the past, and he drew them into this endeavor by discussing methods and evidence. All these virtues emerge in *Hieronim Radziejowski*, so that its 685 pages do not seem excessive. In fact, the only excess in the work is the decision to condense citations to such a degree that they appear to be chemical formulae.

Kersten has chosen one of the most colorful and tempestuous figures of the seventeenth-century Commonwealth. Generations of Poles have been fascinated by Radziejowski's personal life, particularly by his marital conflict, which had implications of King Jan Kazimierz's involvement. Moralists and literati have considered the vice-chancellor's "treason" to his fatherland to be emblematic of the decay within the Commonwealth's elite that led to the state's disintegration. Ever the professional historian, Kersten uses the flap of the dust jacket to warn those who hope for revelations about Radziejowski's private life that the book is a scholarly work, not a historical novel, and that the author will go no further than his sources permit.

Kersten traces Radziejowski's life from his birth in a well-established, but not of first-rank, noble family. He shows the ambitious Hieronim turning contacts with Queen Ludwika Maria to his advantage and obtaining offices that culminated in his appointment as Crown vice-chancellor in 1650. Kersten also explains how connections at court facilitated Radziejowski's third marriage to the wealthy widow Elżbieta Słuszka Kazanowska. Marital troubles, with his wife rumored to be having an affair with the king, brought Radziejowski into violent confrontation with his brother-in-law Bogusław Słuszka in the fall of 1651. Radziejowski was accused of *lèse majesté* for carrying on his struggle in the royal capital. Jan Kazimierz, already dissatisfied with his vice-chancellor, used the incident to depose the official, an act

virtually impossible in the nobiliary Commonwealth.[1] Kersten takes us through Radziejowski's campaign to be reinstated and to escape punishment, his flight to Sweden in 1652 and subsequent wanderings, and his return with Swedish forces in 1655. He then describes Radziejowski's imprisonment by Karl Gustav in December 1656 and his release from prison and return in 1660 to the Commonwealth, where his contacts with Ludwika Maria regained him some influence before his death in 1667.

Despite Kersten's warnings about his limitations in examining Radziejowski's character, he succeeds in constructing an image of the man. Talented, ambitious, attractive, and ingenious, Radziejowski exhibited a restlessness and a willfulness that frequently distorted his decision-making powers and colored his ability to evaluate situations. Kersten makes some of Radziejowski's actions and plans seem less excessive by demonstrating that they reflected the political culture of his society, but he does not deny that Radziejowski's character shaped his stormy career.

Kersten chose to write a biography of Radziejowski because he believed that Radziejowski's conflict with the institutions of authority could be used to bring the political culture of the Commonwealth into focus. He does succeed in deepening our understanding of political thought and processes in the Commonwealth. In order to ensure that there is no anachronism in our understanding, he reminds us that each nobleman believed that "I am the nation" and "we, the nobility, are the state." Kersten demonstrates that Radziejowski espoused views and acted in ways that were much more acceptable to his contemporaries than we might at first assume.

Kersten questions, through an examination of Radziejowski's career and political activities, whether a magnate-oligarchy really existed in the Commonwealth in the early 1650s: even the older great families (Leszczyński, Opaliński, Radziwiłł) had only an inchoate vision of themselves as a group apart, and the actions and views of broader groups of nobles still contributed greatly to the shaping of political affairs and concepts in the 1650s and 1660s. Kersten also concludes from Radziejowski's career that, unlike Władysław IV, who undertook to form a faction of loyal magnate followers, Jan Kazimierz endeavored to augment royal powers without forming such a group. Though he favored less prominent candidates such as Radziejowski for office, thereby elevating them to magnate status, he did so in order to deny positions to already powerful and potentially troublesome magnates rather than to create a new group of loyal magnate followers. Radziejowski, who conceived of himself as a tribune of noble rights, had, therefore, less reason to avoid conflict with the monarch since he could not assume that loyalty to the king would bring him sure and long-term access to power and opportunities for enrichment.

[1] In a biographical sketch of Radziejowski, based on Kersten's then unpublished manuscript, Tadeusz Wasilewski asserts that the king's anger was aroused by Radziejowski's participation in György II Rákóczi's plots to depose him. Regrettably, he does not discuss his reasons or his sources for this interpretation, which is not contained in Kersten's study. "Radziejowski. Hieronim h. Junosza (1612–1667," *Polski słownik biograficzny* 30 (1987): 53.

For those interested primarily in Ukrainian affairs and the Khmel'nyts'kyi uprising, Kersten offers much toward elucidating a number of murky episodes. Above all, he explains how the Masovian noble Radziejowski—whom Kersten describes as a Catholic fanatic—came to have influence in Ukrainian affairs and in part to be looked upon by Khmel'nyts'kyi and his circle as a friend of the Orthodox Cossacks and the Hetmanate. In essence, Radziejowski treated the Ukrainian question as an instrument to increase his own power. Drawn into Władysław IV's Ottoman war plans, he developed contacts with the Cossacks in the mid-1640s that could be used to his own advantage, first with the Commonwealth's government and later with the Swedes.

Although Kersten concludes that Radziejowski could not have been the courier sent by Władysław to the Cossacks in March 1646, he assumes that Radziejowski undertook a mission in the latter half of 1646. From that moment, Radziejowski established ties that would be crucial to his career. His association with the Ottoman war plan and with Cossackophile policy did not prevent him from initially supporting Karol Ferdynand, the candidate for king backed by those who called for an all-out struggle against the Cossacks in the fall of 1648. He switched his support at the right moment to Jan Kazimierz, however, and, because of his earlier contacts, had excellent credentials to serve in the king's efforts to come to an understanding with Khmel'nyts'kyi. At the Election Diet in November, he was named to a commission to negotiate with the Cossacks. Nevertheless, when the king and Chancellor Jerzy Ossoliński did not fulfill all of Radziejowski's expectations for personal advance, he distanced himself from them. The king and chancellor were very unpopular in 1649 because their policy of accommodation with the Cossacks had failed and because they had concluded the humiliating Zboriv Agreement. His contemporaries asserted, and Kersten agrees, that Radziejowski was the author of the anonymous attack on Ossoliński and the policy of accommodation that circulated after the Zboriv Agreement. However, when he sought the post of Crown vice-chancellor, opened up by Ossoliński's death in August 1650 and Vice-Chancellor Andrzej Leszczyński's promotion, Radziejowski reaffirmed his commitment to the policy of negotiation. He did so in order to gain royal favor. Kersten argues that, even at the Diet in December 1650, the king and queen had not fully committed themselves to war against the Cossacks and that Radziejowski's despatching of secret envoys to Khmel'nyts'kyi in December 1650 and early 1651 may still be seen as part of this royal policy to avoid conflict with Khmel'nyts'kyi. A year later, after the Battle of Berestechko and the Bila Tserkva Agreement, Radziejowski, at odds with the king, resoundingly denounced the court for its dealings with the Cossacks. By then the king also sought to discredit Radziejowski for his role in the contacts with Khmel'nyts'kyi.

In discussing Radziejowski's shifting positions on Ukrainian affairs, Kersten reveals how policies in Warsaw were formulated during the first years of the revolt. Only slowly did the political elite set aside previous plans, such as the one for the Ottoman war, and come to terms with the seriousness of the situation. Based on earlier experience with Cossack revolts and on the consultations between Władysław and the Cossacks in 1645–1647, the king and numerous men of state remained

convinced that they could return the rebels to obedience and use them in their domestic and foreign plans. Rather than uniting the monarch, the magnates, and the Diet, the revolt deepened conflicts and suspicions. And, far from maintaining a single, coherent program for Ukrainian affairs between 1648 and 1652, Radziejowski altered his position on Ukrainian issues to serve the interests of his own political and personal struggles.

Starting in 1652, the exile Radziejowski followed a more consistent program of seeking to open relations between Stockholm and Chyhyryn in order to undermine Jan Kazimierz and to regain his lands and offices. His emissaries to Khmel'nyts'kyi in 1652 were intercepted and the letters he had written were used against him in the Commonwealth. Because Queen Christina had no plan to dethrone Jan Kazimierz at this stage and the powerful Chancellor Axel Oxenstierna wished to avoid contact with a plebeian rebel such as Khmel'nyts'kyi, Radziejowski's plans did not meet with a favorable reception in Sweden. While the only immediate consequence of his intrigues in 1652 was to turn opinion in the Commonwealth against him, Radziejowski had nonetheless established himself as the intermediary in Swedish-Ukrainian contacts—contacts difficult to make because relations had to be conducted at great distance and through territories in which the governments were opposed to any arrangement between the two powers.

In tracing Radziejowski's involvement in Swedish-Ukrainian contacts between 1654 and 1656, Kersten shows how the former vice-chancellor moved from a central to a peripheral role as the two powers established more direct ties. Essential to Kersten's account is Father Daniel the Athenian (later Oliveberg de Greccani), an important figure because of his role in east-central European diplomatic affairs of the period (p. 362). Although Kersten devotes considerable attention to Father Daniel's activities and uses new source materials, he leaves unexplained some episodes in the career of this eminent diplomat of the Hetmanate. According to Kersten, after the failure of Sylvian Muzhylivs'kyi and Kondrat Burlai to reach Sweden via Muscovy in 1653, Khmel'nyts'kyi sent Abbot Daniel to Stockholm in the spring of 1654 as an emissary to Queen Christina; from there he traveled to Paris to meet Radziejowski. Daniel then returned to Ukraine and was sent back to Sweden via Muscovy in the summer of 1654.

Untangling the movements of emissaries in the secretive diplomacy of the age is always difficult because correspondence was carried on in such a guarded manner. Still, it seems that Kersten's account, which begins with the mission in Ukraine, is unlikely. More probable is L. V. Zaborovskii's account of Radziejowski establishing contacts with Daniel in Paris first, with the monk traveling to Ukraine via Constantinople in May–July 1654.[2]

[2] L.V. Zaborovskii, *Rossiia, Rech' Pospolitaia i Shvetsiia v seredine XVII v. Iz istorii mezhdunarodnykh otnoshenii v Vostochnoi i Iugo-Vostochnoi Evrope* (Moscow, 1981), p. 58. Zaborovskii bases his account on sources published in Bohdan Kentrschynskyj, "Ukrainska revolutionen och Rysslands angrepp mot Sverige," *Karolinska Förbundets Årsbok* (1966): 30–42. In a discussion of Daniel the Athenian's career not cited by Kersten or

Through his examination of Radziejowski's involvement in the rapidly changing Swedish-Ukrainian contacts, Kersten also ably identifies the often obliquely expressed and contradictory agendas of the participants. The new Swedish king Karl Gustav sought Sweden's dominance on the Baltic and an enlargement of his domains. Radziejowski strove to dethrone Jan Kazimierz and to ensure that he himself would occupy an important position in a renewed Commonwealth with Karl Gustav as king. He also put forward a new Ottoman war program that could unite Sweden, the Commonwealth, and the Cossacks in a southern campaign. Daniel the Athenian dreamed of a grand Orthodox-Protestant alliance (Sweden, Muscovy, the Danubian states, and the Hetmanate) that might free the Balkan peoples from Turkish rule. What Khmel'nyts'kyi, Vyhovs'kyi, and the leaders of the Hetmanate wanted and what changing plans they envisioned are more difficult to ascertain. Kersten explains that, until 1653, they looked to Sweden as a potential ally against the Commonwealth. From early 1654 to July 1655, they did not lose hope that, despite Swedish antagonism toward Muscovy, Sweden would join the Hetmanate and Muscovy in an assault on the Commonwealth. Their hopes were fulfilled in July 1655, but lightning Swedish successes made the Hetmanate of less importance to Swedish statesmen. As Swedish power grew and their dissatisfaction with Muscovy increased, the Hetmanate's leaders looked to Sweden to secure their fledgling polity's position. After Muscovy initiated hostilities against Sweden in the spring of 1656 and alienated the Hetmanate by signing a truce with the Commonwealth in August 1656, the Hetmanate had even more reason to be allied with

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Zaborovskii, Panas Fedenko makes a number of observations that support this scenario. He points out that Daniel is described in Muscovite sources as a "native of the Frankish land (*frantsuzhskie zemli*)" and suggests that the Greek priest Elias, whom Paul of Aleppo mentions meeting in Kiev, may, in fact, be Daniel. Paul relates that Elias, a Greek who lived in Paris, had been sent by Queen Christina to Khmel'nyts'kyi through Constantinople after two earlier emissaries had been captured by the Poles. Khmel'nyts'kyi sent him back with another envoy via Muscovy. Paul of Aleppo's account for June 1654 would seem to refer to Radziejowski's emissaries in 1652 and to Khmel'nyts'kyi's dispatching of Daniel and Ivan Petrovych Tafrali through Muscovy. Panas Fedenko, "Z dyplomatychnoi diial'nosty Danyla Hreka (prychynok do znosyn B. Khmel'nyts'koho zi Shvedamy)," *Naukovyi zbirnyk: Pratsi Ukrains'koho vysokoho pedahohichnoho instytutu im. Mykhaila Drahomanova u Prazi*, 1 (1929): 441–68. This interpretation of Daniel's activity also fits Kryp"iakevych's assertion that he was first in Swedish service: Ivan Kryp"iakevych, *Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi* (Kiev, 1954), p. 401. If this conjecture is true, it would seem probable that Radziejowski recruited Daniel. The matter can only be resolved by a thorough examination of the sources, in particular the unpublished letter of 17 April 1655 from Radziejowski to François de Fleury, Queen Ludwika Maria's chaplain, which seems to be the major countervailing evidence because in it Radziejowski states that "the Cossacks sent a Greek monk to me when I was still in Paris, through whom they asked that I should come to them" (pp. 363–64). However, since Kersten points out that Radziejowski places this event later than the spring of 1654, both the account and the dating may be suspect: after all, he might not have wished to reveal the full extent of his role to Queen Ludwika Maria's chaplain. Whether Daniel was recruited by Radziejowski in Paris or whether he was already in Swedish service, it is likely that he began his Ukrainian diplomatic career by being sent as an envoy to Khmel'nyts'kyi in the spring of 1654.

Sweden and greater expectations of a positive response. By the agreements of December 1656, collectively called the Treaty of Radnot, Khmel'nyts'kyi allied the Hetmanate to Sweden and Transylvania in a plan to partition the Commonwealth. By then, however, the Swedish position was weakening, and 1657 brought disaster as Sweden was forced to fend off a Danish attack and a Transylvanian army supported by the Cossacks was defeated.

In his chapter, "The Great Plan," Kersten demonstrates the important role Radziejowski played in the negotiations among Sweden, the Hetmanate, and leaders in the Commonwealth, despite the opposing goals of the parties involved. Although Kersten discusses the unrealistic aspects of Radziejowski's program for a coalition against the Turks that involved Sweden, he affirms how strongly Władysław's original policy of war against the Ottomans still captured the imagination of the age. More practically, no leader in the Commonwealth could call for accommodation with the Cossacks without simultaneously initiating a plan that would direct their restlessness outward. The grand designs of Radziejowski and Daniel the Athenian to bring the major Baltic power into the Black Sea conflict do ring of fantasy. Nevertheless, although the involvement of Sweden in the affairs of the Ukrainian steppe seemed improbable in 1652, one can see that by 1655 so much had been overturned that the path from the Baltic to the Black Sea appeared to be open.

In discussing the inconsistencies in Radziejowski's alliance plans, Kersten introduces new sources that help explain Radziejowski's views of the Hetmanate. An unpublished plan for an agreement between Karl Gustav and the Cossacks reveals that, far from seeing the Hetmanate as an allied power, Radziejowski hoped to reduce the Cossacks to military units in the eastern palatinates of the Commonwealth on terms not far superior to those provided in the Bila Tserkva Agreement. Radziejowski's views were ultimately of little importance because the Swedes and Ukrainians began direct negotiations, and, by late 1656, he had become expendable to both Karol Gustav and Khmel'nyts'kyi. Radziejowski's views do illustrate, however, how deeply the political elite of the Commonwealth resisted accepting the political and social changes in Ukraine.

Radziejowski's arrest was also related to Ukrainian affairs. Having decided to abandon the Swedes, whose cause he viewed as lost and whose policies he saw as opposed to his own, Radziejowski planned to offer his purported influence with the Cossacks to the Habsburgs. Unfortunately for him, he revealed his intentions to Father Daniel, who gave evidence for his prosecution. After he emerged from prison in 1660, Radziejowski once again played a role in Ukrainian affairs. He died in Adrianople on 8 August 1667, during a mission from the Commonwealth to the Ottoman Porte. Kersten presents Radziejowski's role in the Commonwealth's diplomatic maneuvering just at the time Hetman Petro Doroshenko broke with the Commonwealth and decided to accept Ottoman protection.

Historians of Poland, Ukraine, and east-central and northern Europe will turn frequently to *Hieronim Radziejowski* for its elucidation of complex events and its rich

source base. Adam Kersten has given us one last contribution in his life-long effort to transform our understanding of the mid-seventeenth-century Commonwealth from treasured myths to historical reality.

Frank E. Sysyn
University of Alberta

ROL' KYEVO-MOHYLIANS'KOI AKADEMII V KUL'TURNOMU EDNANNI SLOV'IANS'KYKH NARODIV: ZBIRNYK NAUKOVYKH PRATS'. Edited by *V. Rusanivs'kyi*. Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1988. 182 pp. 3 rub., 20 k.

For the last twenty years a number of Ukrainian scholars (V. M. Nychyk, Z. I. Khyzhniak, I. K. Bilodid, and others) have been hard at work studying the activity and significance of the Kiev Mohyla Academy. On the whole this was a positive step, as the academy had been seriously neglected for a long time, and some areas, such as the philosophical and other courses, almost totally ignored in the past. This volume is yet another product of this interest, and many of the contributors have been represented in earlier publications. Unfortunately, this is not one of the more valuable collections.

From the beginning these studies have been plagued by a number of historiographical problems. Aside from the views of Russo-Ukrainian relations that have been obligatory until recently in the Soviet Union, the main defect of these works is the substitution of national (and nationalist) ideas for the religious and cultural concerns that were central to the academy. To be sure, the situation of Ukraine in the seventeenth and eighteenth century caused perhaps greater interest in local patriotism and national issues than was common in the rest of Europe, but these were not the central issues of the academy's education: those were the imparting of the linguistic and philosophical skills necessary for a proper understanding of Orthodoxy. This approach is not unique to the Kievan scholars of the academy's history, for it has affected the study of all premodern culture in the Soviet Union—and, to be fair, has pre-1917 roots—in both Ukrainian and Russian scholarship. The other shortcoming of these studies, which is less the product of ideology, has been the utter lack of any serious European context for work. In some earlier studies the problem has been the lack of much research anywhere into seventeenth-century neo-Aristotelianism (the basic intellectual framework of the academy), but the present collection reveals a similar lack of context in other areas.

The theme of this volume being "cultural uniting," many of the authors simply survey contacts among the Slavs via the Kiev Academy. The contributions of Mykytas', Kysyl', Shevchenko, Khyzhniak, and others mainly repeat their earlier contentions about the academy, stressing ties among the Slavs. Somewhat more concrete is Ia. M. Stratii's essay on Shcherbats'kyi's 1751 philosophy course, which Stratii praises because its author "noticeably inclines" (*pomitno skhyliaet'sia*)

toward Cartesian physics. In 1751 this was nothing special, and since the context (as far as can be judged from Stratii's account) seems still to be neo-Aristotelian, he has proved not the forward evolution of the academy, but the opposite. The most concrete and best essays are those on language matters by Bokadorova, Nimchuk, Chepiha, and Chuchka and on literary issues by Radyshevs'kyi, Bilous, Moiseeva, Sulyma, Isaevych, and Kolinets'. Myliaeva, Fomenko, and Stepovyk contribute interesting tidbits on engraving and icon painting. In contrast, attempts to grapple with larger issues fall flat. Kashuba's account of Gizel''s *Mir s bogom cheloveku* as a case of incipient rational morality is anachronistic in the extreme and shows a lack of acquaintance with European history: Gizel''s use of the term "common good" and critique of riches was not a parallel to the bourgeois reformation but the use of clichés common in both classical and medieval thought. Kashuba claims that Gizel''s belief in free will is modern and rationalist, but it is in fact a commonplace of Orthodox and Catholic theology. Similarly, Zvonareva's only context for the pedagogical ideas of the academy and of Simeon Polotskii seems to be Comenius, though the academy's origins are in Jesuit pedagogy. Without a better knowledge of the European intellectual history of the period, we cannot possibly place the Kiev Academy in its period.

The real role of the academy in Ukrainian (and Russian) culture was in a radical rethinking of the intellectual and cultural basis of Orthodox faith. Here the academy was a true pioneer, even if it produced no Descartes or Newton, and continued in the neo-Aristotelian tradition long after it was out of date elsewhere. Both in Ukraine and Belorussia and in the Russian state this was a true innovation with profound implications, but none of that is to be found in this volume or its predecessors, for religion is barely mentioned. Until the religious side of the academy is made the object of serious and intense study, we will never learn the basic facts of its activity and impact.

In spite of these problems, some of the detailed essays do contain interesting information on the cultural aspects of the academy's activity. Many are too brief to provide more than glimpses of the subject. We can only hope that the changes in the Soviet Union make possible higher quality work on this basic subject and do not merely drown it again in anachronistic notions, even if of a new sort.

Paul Bushkovitch
Yale University

RZECZPOSPOLITA WIELU NARODÓW. By *Jerzy Tomaszewski*. Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1985. 286 pp.

The author of this work is a Polish historian with a rich and significant research record, particularly in the field of economic and social history of the Second Polish Republic (1918–1939). He has written several times on nationality problems and is also known for his essays on national minorities in Poland today, published in the

pages of the Warsaw weekly *Polityka* and the Poznań monthly *Nurt*. Literature of this kind has often been received with heated debate and very little sympathy in Poland. Jerzy Tomaszewski has posed theses from both historical and contemporary perspectives that compel Polish society to look critically at its own attitude toward other nationalities.

Tomaszewski's book is a collection of articles published initially in *Fołks Sztyme*, a Yiddish periodical printed in Warsaw—hence its peculiarity. It was the author's intention to present a panorama of the nationalities in Poland during the interwar period, with particular attention given to the historical background of the phenomena described. Four chapters are devoted to the discussion of the Jewish minority and two chapters each cover Ukrainians, Belorussians, and Germans. The two chapters on Ukrainians are entitled "Ukrainians—A Defeated Nation" and "Ukrainians—A Nation at the Crossroads." The volume opens with general theoretical reflections on nationality problems in Central Europe and a sketch on the situation of Poles. Brief discussions of the respective situations of Czechs, Slovaks, Russians, Lithuanians, Armenians, Tatars, Karaites, and Gypsies in Poland supplement the overall picture. The conclusion covers the period of the Second World War and the changes surrounding the issues described in post-war Poland.

In addition to the four chapters specifically on this topic, Jewish problems are mentioned briefly or in more detail in all the remaining parts of the book. It was certainly natural to do so in the pages of *Fołks Sztyme*. In a separate publication with a title suggesting an attempted synthesis of the problems, this emphasis is perhaps disproportionate. The reader may receive the impression that the Jewish question in Poland at that time was the most important one. The Ukrainian question, for one, had a much greater political significance. Scrupulous attention to degrees of emphases is all the more important since the book is intended for the general reader and may unintentionally spread misinformation.

The work, however, is excellent in substance and well-written, popularizing difficult and controversial problems. The author intended his book as an educational tool and wrote it in a comprehensive style. He utilizes memoiristic accounts and quotations from literary works, which add color to his narrative. At the same time, the book is a lesson in honest history. Tomaszewski writes objectively and impartially. He does not exaggerate in his criticism of Poles and he does not succumb to Polonocentrism when writing, for example, about Czechs or Germans. He tries to show the motivations at work on all sides; in doing so, he does not abdicate his right to formulate his own interpretations.

There is no doubt that this work clearly demonstrates to the public the contemporary state of scholarly research. How much this type of writing is needed in Poland, how far the historical consciousness of society lags behind the scholarly findings is made evident by an excerpt from a letter—quoted in this book—that Tomaszewski received after one of his publications appeared. An anonymous correspondent expressed his opinion on the national identity of Belorussians and Ukrainians: "in Belorussia, as in all the regions of Poland, a rich folk culture flourished with the linguistic dialect characteristic of that culture; so tsarist chauvinists created along those lines a separate 'Belorussian culture' and 'Belorussian nation' in

the last years of the nineteenth century, taking as their model their own experience with Ukraine, where they had transformed native Polish peasants into enemies of Polishness with a distinct literature."

In the social atmosphere illustrated so aptly by the above quotation, Polish historiography has also been subject to some distortion. For example, in the works of some Polish historians, we find the term "nationalism" applied uncritically and probably with no reflection of any manifestations of the Ukrainian national movement. Tomaszewski states: "I have increasing doubts whether this term should be used." Of course, Polish historiography should be appreciated in spite of these problems. Tomaszewski's work could not have come into being had it not been for the earlier monographs on various episodes concerning the nationalities in the Second Republic, to which the author refers. He himself can be credited with a great deal in this field because of a convincing revision of statistical censuses of that period which he made and from which he estimated the real numbers in the individual national groups. He is also the author of an interesting treatise on Podlachia in which he analyzes the pheonomenon of *tutejszość* ("local people"), so important to the understanding of ethnic relations in Central Europe.

For all its advantages, Tomaszewski's work arouses some doubts when, for example, we find in it the thesis borrowed from a primitive Marxist interpretation—that the basis for conflicts of nationality is exclusively socioeconomic. Although he declares this, Tomaszewski himself virtually refutes it by describing, eloquently, the political and cultural background of events. He falls victim to this methodological mystification when describing the attitudes of individual political camps toward ethnic problems. For example, what he says of the situation in Galicia, where the leftists supposedly demonstrated their understanding and sympathy for the Ukrainian movement and the rightists supposedly opposed the movement, is untrue and ignores the fact that the Lviv democrats and the peasant movement actually had little sympathy for the Ukrainian cause. Such a simplification is an unjust assessment of the position of the Cracow conservatives.

No justification can be found for the manipulation of the quotation from a document signed by the Communist Party of Germany in March 1921 on the plebiscite in Upper Silesia. Omiting the preceding sentences, Tomaszewski cites only the fragment that criticizes the German policy toward the Poles: "The Entente has created capitalist Poland as a protective wall against bolshevism. Poland in its present form cannot exist, its industry is destroyed, its agriculture is in ruins. . . . So Poland sees its last chance in the annexation of the highly developed industrial regions. Upper Silesia is meant to halt the inevitable bankruptcy of Poland. Polish capitalism stretches its claws toward the Upper Silesian industrial region with the idea that the Upper Silesian proletariat in towns and countryside will in the future work and drudge day and night for Polish capitalist bandits, as it has had to work so far for German capitalists."[1] These words hardly confirm the recognition by the Communist

[1] *Ze wspólnych walk niemieckiego i polskiego rewolucyjnego ruchu robotniczego w latach 1918–1939. Dokumenty i materiały*, ed. Franciszek Hawranek et al. (Opole and Berlin: Instytut

movement of Poland's rights to the ethnically Polish lands to the west.

Although Tomaszewski seems not to share the opinion of Communist theoreticians that a proletarian revolution is the solution to nationality problems (he knows perfectly well the shortcomings of the nationality policy of the Communist state, as his writings suggest), yet he is unable to find any other theoretical interpretation of the processes described. A striking lack of a consistent and well-thought-out theory of nation is palpable in his work, for which the rather vague phraseology found in parts of the book is no substitute.

Finally, it should be noted that Tomaszewski follows the practice of citing Ukrainian and Belorussian names in their original forms, rather than by the existing Polish forms. This method is becoming more frequent in current Polish scholarly literature.

Andrzej A. Zięba
Jagellonian University, Cracow

RUSSIAN CENTRALISM AND UKRAINIAN AUTONOMY: IMPERIAL ABSORPTION OF THE HETMANATE, 1760s–1830s. By *Zenon E. Kohut*. Harvard Series in Ukrainian Studies. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1988. 363 pp. $19.95.

This book, originally a Ph.D. thesis written at the University of Pennsylvania, represents the first exhaustive description of the abolition of regional and traditional rights in an acquired part of the Russian Empire. Though it deals only with the Hetmanate and leaves out Sloboda Ukraine and Zaporizhzhia and though this area, with its Orthodox Eastern Slavic inhabitants, surely has its peculiarities, the book is well suited to serve as a case study for all other areas even outside Ukraine where national minorities were confronted with the St. Petersburg absolutism of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Kohut discusses the nature of the Russian policy, the Ukrainian reaction to it, and the consequences to both sides. He is interested primarily in the political implications and disregards economic factors, acculturation, and Russification in detail. Research on the latter would have gone beyond the scope of the book and would have necessitated access to the archives, which the author was denied. His main sources were the published instructions (*nakazy*) of the delegates to Catherine II's Legislative Commission, administrative acts, and pamphlets by Ukrainian writers. In addition to its function in the text, the *nakaz* material is presented in nine tables and in a survey in the appendix.

Marksizmu-Leninizmu przy Komitecie Centralnym Socjalistycznej Partii Jedności Niemiec oraz Instytut Śląski, 1976), p. 68.

The first two of the eight chapters serve an introductory purpose and are meant to acquaint the reader with the history of Russian centralism on the one hand and of Ukrainian autonomy on the other. While the author's approach to the central question of his book is remarkably objective and while his willingness to understand the Russian motives is evident, he unfortunately repeats, in the first chapter, the story of the Muscovite imperialistic expansion under an allegedly theoretically unlimited ruler. The latter statement has long been refuted and the expansion would need specific explanations as to aggressions from neighboring countries and Muscovite defense against them. But Kohut is, of course, right in his main point that the lack of corporate and regional bodies was the essential prerequisite for the development of autocratic rule and that clashes with the Cossacks who possessed at least tendencies toward forming estate-like corporations were therefore inevitable. These social groups are defined as reflections of Western society, and the author takes great care to find a correct terminology, e.g., "gentry" for the upper stratum, a combination of *szlachta* and *starshyna* as members of the *znachne viis'kove tovarystvo*. Generally, the second chapter can be regarded as a comprehensive survey on the institutions of the Hetmanate and the so-called Little Russian rights and privileges, including political conceptions and contemporary literature.

Chapters 3 through 7 contain the main results of Kohut's research and record the history of Catherine's attack on Ukrainian autonomy—or on what was left of it by this time—of her victory, and of the Ukrainian adjustment to the imperial order. On the whole, this is a sad story, but the author's impartial style develops a fascinating report on the step-by-step restrictions imposed by the empress. It turns out that, despite the relatively favorable conditions for Ukrainians in the beginning of her reign, the court atmosphere soon became anti-Ukrainian because Catherine would not tolerate Rozumovs'kyi's reforms of the judicial institutions, the economy, and the social order. The abolition of the Hetmanate and the re-establishment of the Little Russian College in 1764 as well as the rule of Governor-General Rumiantsev were measures that Kohut places in the greater context of the Russification of the western provinces (including Livonia, Karelia, and Smolensk). The empress was convinced that Rumiantsev's reform plan, i.e., gradual integration, which was partially carried out before the war with Turkey, would eventually lead to "the best of all orders." The Ukrainians, however, were of a different opinion. When the various strata, notwithstanding official impediments, were able to voice their grievances in the *nakazy*, they unanimously requested the preservation of their old rights and privileges. It is one of the finest results of Kohut's work that, on the one hand, he reveals the differences in the concrete demands of the gentry, the Cossacks, the townspeople, and the bishops, but that, on the other hand, he demonstrates that they all stood together in defending their past while fearing for their future. The twenty-nine delegates in the Legislative Commission under the leadership of at first Ivan Skoropads'kyi and then Hryhorii Poletyka never contradicted each other; no non-noble stood up against the gentry, and the latter did not advocate the introduction of full serfdom. The author should have made use of Bernd Knabe's book on the *nakazy* of the Russian merchants (*Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte* 22 [1975]) for reasons of comparison.

The reader is not surprised to learn that Catherine rejected all demands and terminated discussion of the Hetmanate. The simultaneous Russian Cossack rebellions did not help the Ukrainian cause, but rather had the opposite effect. By 1786 the provincial administrative reform was introduced in that area, and autonomy was finally lost. The last remnants were abolished by 1843, when the Lithuanian Statute was replaced by the Svod Zakonov. Kohut is rather brief on the period after 1796, as far as these institutional changes are concerned. He is more detailed in chapter 7 on the adjustment of Ukrainian society to the new order because this process extended far into the nineteenth century, though the basis for the integration of the social structures was created in Catherine's charters of 1785. To many readers this chapter may be the most interesting part of the book because of the numerous ambiguities connected with the official definitions of nobles or Cossacks. The gentry eagerly strove for the rights of the Russian nobility, but only in 1835 was the government ready to decide who belonged to it. In the case of the Cossacks, it was also only in the 1830s that the government found a solution to the problem of whether soldiers or obedient peasants were preferable. In the towns Russians, Greeks, and Jews gradually took over; the clergy, too, was Russified. In this half-century of assimilation, Kohut finds only one positive aspect, i.e., the timid emergence of Ukrainian patriotism as witnessed in the controversy between "'assimilationists" and "traditionalists," with the latter also accepting imperial rule but wanting the central authorities to stay out of local administration. In the end Zenon Kohut rightly emphasizes that the cooptation of the gentry was the decisive factor in the process of social change and integration. Unlike the Polish and the Hungarian nobles, the Ukrainian elite lacked ancient tradition and legitimacy, and if there was a tradition it was loyalty to the emperor. But for the Ukrainian cause this meant that the country had no elite in the upcoming national struggle; it was "a sociologically incomplete or unhistorical nationality" (p. 2), primarily reduced to a peasant nation.

The author comforts his readers with the assertion that the intelligentsia of the nineteenth century had at least the Cossack chronicles and historical works of the gentry to start with, that the nobles, because of their antiquarian interests, served as a link between generations, and that ethnic and linguistic studies also contributed to the process of "nation-building." In this respect his excellent book may have meaning for the present situation: the heritage of the Hetmanate is still important in today's struggle between "centralism" and "autonomy."

Hans J. Torke
Free University of Berlin

THE CRISIS OF RUSSIAN AUTOCRACY: NICHOLAS II AND THE 1905 REVOLUTION. By *Andrew M. Verner*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990. xii, 372 pp. $35.00.

This work draws the reader deeply into the world of the last Russian tsar, from his childhood through the vital years of the first Russian Revolution. The author

examines the pinnacle of the Russian government through pervasive analyses of Nicholas's personality, the functioning of the Russian bureaucracy, and the development of variants within autocratic ideology both before and during the upheaval of 1905. Such penetrating examination of the influences that profoundly affected the tsar, the foundations of his government, and its actual conduct provides a well-developed structure from which to view the action and inaction of the Russian ruler and government in the face of the massive unrest in 1905 that threatened to sweep away the entire autocratic edifice.

Verner creates the analytical structure of his work around Nicholas, both personally and officially, and around the concept of autocracy, both theoretically and in practice. In this, the author clearly attempts to move beyond other works on 1905 that focus on traditional recitations of governmental policies or on important groups in the revolution, such as the liberals, workers, or Social Democrats, while relegating the autocracy to a secondary role. Instead, this work approaches the whole question of the 1905 revolution by dealing exclusively with autocracy in its own world and on its own terms. It is the tsar and the workings of the top circles of his government that are laid bare to provide key evaluation of the personalities and driving world views shaping governmental policies. In addition, vital to understanding the responses of the government to the challenges of 1905 is, according to the author, a systematic exploration of administrative practice and the relationship between the tsar and his bureaucracy. Verner's structure exposes the hitherto neglected and hidden world of the Russian autocracy and its workings in moments of supreme crisis.

The book begins with an examination of Nicholas II and the important influences in his emotional and intellectual development. By detailing the tsar's childhood, training, and maturation, the author establishes the context and limits of what was possible psychologically and intellectually. The next step in examining the world of autocracy comes with a careful recreation of bureaucratic structure and functioning under the tsarist system. Importantly, too, the entire ideology of autocracy by the late nineteenth century had acquired divergent traits and attracted various adherents within the top echelons of the tsar's entourage and government. The variants of autocratic ideology, then, become crucial elements in the actions of the Russian government. Verner asserts that in 1905, "It [the revolution] was filtered through the different strands and layers of autocratic ideology and the practices of autocratic administration before being registered by Nicholas. Indeed, from the vantage point of the autocrat and his government the revolutionary conflict between autocracy and democracy, both in its liberal and socialist variant, was transformed into a conflict between different conceptions of autocracy, none of them democratic, of course" (p. 6).

The shortcomings of the tsar and the shortcomings of the system proved a volatile combination. In his role as ruler, Nicholas II essentially was an empty shell, formed in this manner by his upbringing, training, situation as tsarevich, and personal development. He exemplified the formal, outward notions of duty while internalizing little of his role as autocrat. According to Verner, Nicholas was both estranged from his role as tsar yet almost fatalistically resigned to fulfilling its

heavy, sometimes onerous, obligations. In much the same way, the author views the bureaucracy as a bastion of personal, arbitrary power that essentially also rendered the Russian government a hollow shell that no patched-on State Duma of the post-1905 period would change.

With his discussion of autocratic ideology, Verner sets the stage in developing the context and the prisms through which the important actors of 1905 viewed growing unrest and its possible implications. For example, the author evaluates the ideas and proposed reforms of Sviatopolk-Mirskii, minister of internal affairs in 1904–1905, as an outgrowth of the ideological variant of legal autocracy. Likewise, the appointment of Trepov as governor-general of St. Petersburg in January 1905 stemmed from the personalized idea of autocratic rulership on Nicholas's part. Furthermore, Witte's entire perspective and course of action during the crisis years were dictated by his views of autocracy: to shape the bureaucracy into a force for power and reform along the eighteenth-century Prussian model. The author brings the elements of all these factors together to explain the strains and conflicts within the top circles of Russian leadership and government. Such strains inevitably led to misperceptions, miscalculations, and, most significantly at critical junctures, paralysis.

One of the greatest strengths of this work is the author's ability to reconstruct the actual audiences and meetings between Nicholas II and various members of his government. It is fascinating to view the competition among ministers, intrigues, and in-fighting among members of the tsar's inner circle. Moreover, Verner's reconstructions go beyond merely setting the scenes of conflict but work to ascribe motives and beliefs to participants that serve to illustrate the ideological component of this analytical structure. In most cases, his interpretations are extremely convincing. This method is rather exciting and beneficial for comprehending the reform process reluctantly undertaken by Nicholas II in response to extreme outside pressures. Although the so-called Stolypin coup of 3 June 1907 has often been portrayed as signaling a sharp break in the policies of the government, through Verner's work it is possible to perceive that the coup "...did not reflect a change in Stolypin's conception of autocratic government..." (p. 337) nor in Nicholas's.

In other ways, too, the author provides provocative and carefully detailed insights into Russian autocracy and the autocrat. For example, Verner presents a revealing notation made by Nicholas II in the margin of a report describing unrest in the countryside. By the account of the sacking of the liberal Prince Trubetskoi's estate, Nicholas wrote, "It serves him right" (p. 272). Here, certainly, is evidence of the personal side of autocracy. In addition, Verner is most careful about terminology, constructing part of his interpretation of autocratic ideology and Nicholas's perceptions about his subjects on key words such as *narod* and *obshchestvo* and their precise meaning in the contemporary context. Language and terminology are of obvious importance. To aid even the specialist as well as the general reader, a glossary of terms is provided.

Some points in the work could, perhaps, benefit from elaboration by the author. First, in reconstructing meetings and audiences with the tsar during the crucial years around 1905, Verner relies upon diaries and the recorded minutes of ministerial

sessions. One of the most important diaries is that of Sviatopolk-Mirskii's wife. In this and in the use of the accounts of ministerial sessions, some words of warning about the sources might be useful. In Sviatopolk-Mirskaia's case, there may be some bias, as well as a tendency to assume her feelings were reflective of her husband's. In the sessions of the ministers, it is unclear who recorded these accounts and whether or not they were edited. This would also have some significance in shaping Verner's reconstructions.

Beyond this point about sources, there is one aspect of the work that is, remarkably, both a weakness and a virtue. The picture of massive upheaval, protests, and unrest in 1905 in many ways is somewhat vague and limited, aside from the accounts of Bloody Sunday. The groups and their ideas, goals, and actions are not as extensively drawn here as one might expect, even in a work that focuses upon the highest echelons of the Russian government. The intensity of the outside pressures upon the tsar and his government are acknowledged by the author, but the reader could benefit from greater explanation and discussion of the antagonisms within Russian society and their implications for the course of events. Interestingly, Verner anticipates some of this criticism while examining the responses of autocracy to the revolutionary crisis. For Nicholas II, the "revolutionary din" was distant and vague at most times. Verner echoes how Nicholas himself saw events unfolding. This is a nice twist to the book but, at times, is not wholly satisfying to the reader.

Overall, however, *The Crisis of the Russian Autocracy* is a most valuable piece of the 1905 puzzle. In gazing at the book jacket, one is struck by the soulful, almost eerie portrait of the tsar by Valentin Aleksandrovich Serov. In delving into the well-argued, illuminating contents of the book, one indeed seems to come face to face with this man. Andrew Verner makes a substantial contribution to an understanding of this tsar, autocracy, the 1905 Russian Revolution, and its aftermath.

Susan M. Vorderer
Boston College

BREAD AND AUTHORITY IN RUSSIA, 1914–1921. By *Lars T. Lih.* Studies on the History of Society and Culture, 10. Berkeley, New York, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1990. 303 pp. $38.00.

This book examines the politics of food supply in Russia as it evolved from the beginning of World War I to the Bolsheviks' turn toward the NEP. Professor Lih focuses on the efforts of central food-supply officials to build a grain-collection apparatus in the midst of political and economic breakdown in order to overcome severe food shortages in urban industrial areas and among the peasants of northern Russia. Unlike their predecessors, the Bolsheviks managed to erect an adequate procurement system. The central question of this book is: How did the Bolsheviks manage to reconstitute authority in Russia while in the process of dealing with the

food-supply crisis? Lih's sources include the accounts and analysis of several Menshevik economists who served as food-supply officials at the zemstvo level as representatives to the tsarist government, the Provisional Government, and the Bolsheviks. Lih also relies upon the regionally based food-supply press that operated between 1917 and 1921.

Lih demonstrates that each successive Russian government between 1914 and 1921 attempted to enlist the participation of social forces at the local level in order to overcome the food-supply crisis. This was necessitated by the absence of an apparatus to collect grain as a tax-in-kind. Tsarist food-supply officials failed in their attempt to mobilize the zemstvos as the local representatives of the grain collection apparatus. Similarly, the Bolsheviks' Committees of the Poor, an integral part of their Food-Supply Dictatorship of 1918, could not overcome the intense separatism characteristic of the countryside during this period.

In the fall of 1918, when the Bolsheviks abandoned the Food-Supply Dictatorship and began to implement the *razverstka*, a quota assessment system of grain procurement originally devised by the tsar's Ministry of Agriculture, the building of a workable collection apparatus began. At that point, the Bolsheviks realized that they could not wage a class war, blame the shortage of grain on the kulaks, and increase grain procurement by aiding the Committees of the Poor. Lih's Menshevik sources indicate that the peasants were willing to accept the obligation imposed by the *razverstka* because it was imposed collectively and because it signaled an end to the "invasion" of food-supply detachments and promised manufactured goods to the villages that fulfilled their quotas rather than to the Committees of the Poor. By the beginning of 1921, Vladimirov, a Menshevik economist, attributed the success of the *razverstka* to the growing strength and prestige of the new state authority. In Lih's view, the Bolsheviks gained peasant tolerance and thereby crudely constructed an adequate mechanism to handle the new state's burden of grain collection.

Traditionally, the Tenth Party Congress of March 1921 is viewed as the beginning of the NEP. Lih, however, sees the Bolshevik shift occurring in the fall of 1918, with the collapse of Food-Supply Dictatorship and the retreat to the *razverstka*. The policy announced in March 1921 included a tax-in-kind to replace the requisition of grain, but Lih argues that this was not a big step since the peasants had already come to view the *razverstka* as more or less a tax-in-kind imposed collectively. "The policy changes of 1921 were not a repudiation of the achievements of the civil war period but their continuation" (p. 199). Many food-supply officials believed that the system constructed during the period of *razverstka* made the transition to a tax-in-kind possible in 1921. They later became staunch defenders of the NEP and victims of the Stalinist Terror, who are currently being rehabilitated.

While Menshevik food-supply officials celebrated the success of the *razverstka* in establishing a workable authority in the countryside, peasant revolts raged in Tambov province and Western Siberia in early 1921. Lih's treatment of these threats to Bolshevik authority illustrates the limits of his focus. He does not evaluate statements made by food-supply officials as politically motivated, in essence portraying the *razverstka*—which they themselves implemented—in the best possible light. Moreover, the absence of peasant sources prevents the corroboration of the

Mensheviks' view with the perspective or perspectives of those upon whom the *razverstka* was imposed.

Lih suggests but does not examine a possible explanation for the revolts of 1921. Bolshevik territory in the fall of 1918 included only five surplus-producing provinces and several grain-deficient provinces. Peasants from the latter called for state control of grain in order to ensure the flow of grain to the consumers from the sellers increasingly unwilling to part with their grain. The surplus regions further south, which had formerly supplied the grain-deficient provinces, were slowly and violently brought under Bolshevik control during the course of the civil war. While Lih's evidence suggests that the *razverstka* came to succeed in areas held by the Bolsheviks in 1919–1920, it is not clear how its implementation proceeded in war-ravaged areas during the later stages of the war. The peasant revolts in Tambov and Siberia suggest that it was not universally well received.

Despite its limitations, this book provides a useful framework for investigating the process by which the disintegration of Russian society was overcome.

Peter Fraunholtz
Boston College

TIME OF TROUBLES: THE DIARY OF IURII VLADIMIROVICH GOT'E, MOSCOW, JULY 8, 1917 TO JULY 23, 1922. Translated, edited, and introduced by *Terence Emmons*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988. 513 pp. $39.50.

To review a contemporary translation of a diary whose author died a half-century ago is to pass awkward judgments on the living and the dead, but in this case one can only be grateful to both author and translator for their immense contribution to Russian history. In the cold dawn of Soviet power, Iurii Vladimirovich Got'e, prominent historian at Moscow University and chief librarian of the Rumiantsev Museum and Moscow Public Library (now the Lenin Library), recognized the profundity of his historical moment, even as it destroyed most of what he had lived for, and took upon himself the dangerous task of keeping an almost daily diary account of his life and times. Part of Got'e's mission was to preserve the diary for the future, and in this cause he gave his papers to a visiting American, Frank Golder, in 1922. Sixty years later the memoir was identified by Edward Kasinec, and now, in keeping with Got'e's acute professional consciousness, Terence Emmons has given this unique document the life for which it was intended—a new future as an articulate, detailed, and unignorable witness to the Russian Revolution.

Also in accord with the historian's self-awareness that suffuses the diary, Emmons has chosen to let Got'e speak for himself. The introduction, notes, and appendices provide very useful information about people, institutions, and events mentioned in the manuscript, about Got'e's life before 1917 and after 1922, and a brief analysis of his views, without prejudicing the reader's interaction with the text.

This was a wise decision, both because it leaves the diary more open to multiple interpretations and because Got'e has picked enough of his own quarrels to keep historians and others busy for years. Got'e, a member of the nationalistic and Eurocentric Moscow professoriat, was an anti-Semite, a sexist, an elitist, a Russian chauvinist, and an unabashed defender of the hybrid civilization of his class. For him, the revolution meant the shattering of the glistening layer of European culture that had lain so deceptively over the "Russian" depths, and, like others from his milieu, particularly P. B. Struve and N. A. Berdiaev, he blamed the intelligentsia with its suicidal hubris, abetted by the old regime and the flaccid Russian people, for this catastrophe. (Typical of so many ardent Russian patriots of the right and left, Got'e considered Russian people, especially peasants, as primitives unworthy of their nation.)

Because the memoir is intensely personal and, at least in the present context of Soviet studies in the West, highly provocative, much scholarly effort will undoubtedly be expended attempting to separate the individual or class perspective from Got'e's invaluable evidence of the revolution's course. But such analysis would ignore both Got'e's own consciousness of the subjectivity of all history—he notes that he is producing a "very imperfect, very subjective, but nevertheless historical source" (p. 28)—as well as the all too material fact that revolutions happen to people. This memoir is unique in its exposure of the intimate, mundane, and human experience of revolution, a reality whose deep scarring of society and its future was ultimately far more political than "politics" conventionally understood. Got'e's painstaking, self-exposing notes reveal what it meant to families, neighbors, and colleagues when food, heat, transportation, and, for many, shelter disappeared in Moscow. Sickness, death, isolation, anguish—these were the daily companions of the surviving Muscovites as the social organization of the city ground to a near halt in the first years of Soviet government.

Got'e fought off his gloom with trips to the countryside, with physical labor, and with history, of the past and of the moment. On a trip to Novgorod to rescue his brother from the local Cheka, he took pleasure in his chance to visit the sites of other, ancient struggles; in the midst of deep sorrow, he finished his study of eighteenth-century regional administration (published only in 1941); but most important for us, he continued to comment on his own epoch. To this task, he brought an irrepressible sense for the good source, a marvelously uncensored and creative profanity, a spirit that was both mean and tender, and a curiosity more focused on what he did not understand than on what he knew. Rather than enfolding himself in the all too familiar convolutions of academic politics in a period that brought foibles and worse to the fore, Got'e, generally, dealt his colleagues brief epithetic justice—or injustice, depending on your point of view—and turned his attention outward, listening to the conversations of the workers and soldiers he despised, watching their behavior, recording all this in his diary. It is this expansive, profoundly social inquisitiveness that extends the memoir beyond Got'e's self, family, and profession and into the shattered life of Moscow, with its anti-Bolshevik graffiti, its guards around the Kremlin, its scams, its arrogant young men and their commissions, its cocked-up festivals, its filth, decay, and fear. Whether or not one agrees with Got'e's vituperative evaluations—and, for what it's worth, he was

acutely prescient about the course of the civil war—historians must now engage this glimpse of what seemed new to a sensitive observer in the aftermath of 1917.

Jane Burbank
University of Michigan

FIRST INTERIM REPORT OF MEETINGS AND HEARINGS OF AND BEFORE THE COMMISSION ON THE UKRAINIAN FAMINE, HELD IN 1986. Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1987. viii, 172 pp.

SECOND INTERIM REPORT OF MEETINGS AND HEARINGS OF AND BEFORE THE COMMISSION ON THE UKRAINIAN FAMINE, HELD IN 1987. Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1988. iv, 142 pp.

REPORT TO CONGRESS. COMMISSION ON THE UKRAINE FAMINE. Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1988. xxv, 524 pp.

These massive, and extraordinary, reports are a powerful indictment of the horror that was inflicted upon Soviet farmers in 1932 and 1933. Tremendous time and trouble went into the research and writing of these reports, and the commission, directed by James E. Mace, is to be congratulated. The first two reports are mainly transcripts of eyewitness testimonies, while the final report is comprised of the conclusions of the commission and appendixes that include both select oral histories by former Soviet citizens turned émigrés and Italian diplomatic and consular dispatches from Kharkiv. As a whole, these three volumes provide an unusual wealth of information on this harrowing incident in Soviet history.

The Commission on the Ukraine Famine was set up in 1985 by the United States Congress and funded with $400,000. The purpose of the enterprise was defined as a study of the 1932–1933 Ukraine famine "in order to (1) expand the world's knowledge of the famine; and (2) provide the American public with a better understanding of the Soviet system by revealing the Soviet role in the Ukraine famine." Included in the nineteen-point conclusion the commission reached after over three years of intensive work are the following: "The victims of the Ukrainian Famine numbered in the millions"; "The Ukrainian Famine of 1932–1933 was caused by the maximum extraction of agricultural produce from the rural population"; "While famine also took place during the 1932–33 agricultural year in the Volga Basin and the North Caucasus Territory as a whole, the invasiveness of Stalin's interventions of both the Fall [*sic*] of 1932 and January 1933 in Ukraine are paralleled only in the ethnically Ukrainian Kuban region of the North Caucasus"; "Joseph Stalin and those around him committed genocide against Ukrainians in 1932–1933"; "The American government had ample and timely information about the Famine but failed to take

any steps which might have ameliorated the situation. Instead, the Administration extended diplomatic recognition to the Soviet government in November 1933, immediately after the Famine"; "During the Famine certain members of the American press corps cooperated with the Soviet government to deny the existence of the Ukrainian Famine." All this is supported by formidable documentation.

On the whole, the commission's conclusions are sound and convincing. (It is not at all clear whether they are to serve as a policy recommendation to Congress regarding the Soviet Union. If so, the implications are obvious, even though the tone of the report is softened by reference to political developments that have taken place since Gorbachev's rise to power.) However, the causality the commission tries to demonstrate between Stalin's intention and the outcome is not entirely convincing, at least as it stands. Undoubtedly, the Ukrainians as a whole suffered from collectivization and terror. Yet, if one were to engage in number games, one would have to maintain that Central Asians, particularly the Kazakhs, suffered at least as much. Granting our sympathy for the victims, to suggest that the Ukrainians were singularly targeted as an object of ethnic genocide stretches the available evidence. To be sure, the ethnic factor was critically important. Ethnic minorities, with their anti-Moscow sentiments, were politically destabilizing elements. The Ukrainians, as the largest minority in the Soviet Union and as a vocal ethnic group, were a predictable target for terror by Moscow. However, this alone does not account adequately for the famine terror. First, almost all of the fertile grain-producing areas in the country were struck by famine to one extent or another. Because Ukraine and the North Caucasus constituted the breadbasket of the country, they were subject to harsh exploitation. It was in precisely these grain-producing areas that state-peasant relations were strained to the breaking point during the civil war of 1918–1920/21, the grain procurement crisis of 1927–1928, and the collectivization drive of 1929–1930. In light of this, the 1932–1933 famine terror might well be characterized as an attempt to break down the resistance of these recalcitrant peasants. Second, the geographical factor also needs to be considered. Border states such as Ukraine and Central Asia, whose ethnographic distributions cut across political boundaries, were particularly dangerous from Moscow's perspective: it was in precisely these areas that Moscow's power was weak and foreign influence particularly suspect. Not only was there continued migration across the border, especially in times of crisis such as the civil war and collectivization, but clandestine communication was also maintained between the ethnic groups extending over the border. The combination of these two factors seems to account for the subjection of Ukraine to the harshest famine terror. Whether or not this can be labeled as ethnic genocide is less important than the need to examine the causal factors in greater detail.

The true value of these three volumes, however, lies in the material contained. There are superb chapters detailing both Western and Soviet historiographies. Chapters dealing with Soviet historical fiction on the famine and the American response to the famine are equally readable and useful. Best of all are the oral testimonies quoted in full in the reports. One reads the following passage, for example:

Once in Enakievo [in the Donbas] my brother and I were walking along Turtina Street—or it may have been Trutina Street—I have forgotten which. We saw the corpse of a young woman propped up against a plank fence. As we approached we saw there was a child on her breast who sucked the breast without realizing there was no milk left. A sanitary truck, whose job it was to collect the dead bodies from the streets, pulled up as we watched. Two men jumped out of the truck, grabbed the body by the leg and dragged it up on the pile of bodies in the truck. Then they took the living child and threw it up with the dead bodies. My brother and I wept in pity for the child, but we realized that there was little that we or anyone could do to help it, for we were all hungry.

Since the final report was submitted, glasnost' has gained momentum in the Soviet Union, and a great many accounts of the famine by Soviet citizens are being published. (It is noteworthy that part of this report to Congress has been published in Ukraine.) Oral testimonies are also being collected by Soviet historians. The émigré and Soviet accounts tend to support each other. It now seems possible to collaborate with Soviet historians to examine this tragedy further. The commission has made a remarkable contribution toward filling in a "blank spot" in Soviet history.

Hiroaki Kuromiya
Indiana University

THE WEDDING OF THE DEAD: RITUAL, POETICS, AND POPULAR CULTURE IN TRANSYLVANIA. By *Gail Kligman.* Studies on the History of Society and Culture, 4. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1988. xiii, 410 pp. (acknowledgements, notes on the Maramureş dialect, notes on the ritual poetry, illustrations, afterword, appendices, notes, glossary, references, index.)

It does not seem inappropriate for a book reviewer whose comments are to be published in a journal of Ukrainian studies to query the reviewed work's relevance to *Ukrainica.* Other questions that readily come to mind are more likely to deal with the discipline to which a given text belongs (i.e., the content or theses) as well as specific points of interest (for example, problems of fieldwork in an ethnographic study).

Gail Kligman has written an eloquent account of the life-cycle rituals practised among the Ieudeni, the inhabitants of a Maramureş village in Transylvania. Kligman's monograph is especially valuable because, rather than representing the work of an armchair anthropologist or ethnographer, it is based on seventeen months of fieldwork among the group under consideration. Fieldwork conducted among an alien cultural entity is never easy. (Kligman mentions her arrival at one village which turned into a spectacle, not only for the local children, but for the adult inhabitants as well.) Fieldwork for a female Jewish American, in a hinterland area under the repressive regime of N. Ceauşescu, the late dictator of Romania, was not exactly

a pleasure trip. Under these circumstances Kligman appreciates the fact that her earlier doctoral research experience in Romania worked to her advantage in dealing with the frustrations of the greatly restricted political and intellectual climate of the 1980s. (For example, the state discouraged its citizens from associating with foreigners; the fact that she was under surveillance was made manifest by one of the village priests who suggested circumspection with regard to her questioning, pointing out that she had a conspicuous "shadow.") Moreover, the author believes that a revelation of her religious affiliation would have hindered her research. An acquaintance had rhetorically asked her whether she "was interested in research and understanding the human condition or in becoming a martyr" (p. 333). Kligman clearly had to make every effort to fit into her village milieu. She was a single woman who, under local customs, should have been married at the time of her research. Petty incidents such as helping out with the Easter cleaning provoked negative reactions toward the fieldworker's hostess, implicating her with taking advantage of her guest. All in all, the process of incorporation of the researcher within the household of the researched turned out to be agreeable to both sides. Kligman was able to record many of the beliefs and rituals of the inhabitants of Ieud, concentrating on the life-cycle rituals—weddings and funerals.

The central issue of this monograph, the symbolic death-wedding rituals, is also presented within the framework of rites of passage. The theory for this framework, formulated many years ago by A. Van Gennep, was later interpreted by a number of other scholars in the field. The main tenet of this theory is that all rites of passage can be divided into three stages: rites of separation; rites of *limen* (or transition); and rites of aggregation or (re)incorporation. Kligman's aim is to show how these are formed, manipulated, practised, comprehended, and made significant. These rites are studies within the context of a local community as it has been developing in the former Socialist Republic of Romania. Thus, the main sections of the monograph deal with social organization, weddings, funeral rites, the wedding of the dead, ideology, ritual, and identity.

In an introduction addressed perhaps more to the general readership than to specialists, Kligman bemoans the average American's lack of familiarity with world geography, which generally results in assumptions that the territory where her fieldwork took place, i.e., Transylvania, would be known more as a type of "never never land" in which the infamous Dracula terrorized his hapless victims than as an area of traditional peasant customs. The events of December 1989 have, hopefully, brought the geopolitical territory of contemporary Romania into a somewhat more precise focus, even in North America.

The first chapter, "Social Organizations," takes us into a Romanian community which goes back to the fourteenth century and whose inhabitants engaged in agriculture and transhumance prior to the forced cooperativization of 1950 and 1962. This patrilineal and patrilocal community is one in which hereditary relationships traceable to medieval local headmen or *cnezi* are valued. The current Orthodox (and earlier Greek Catholic) religious practises have also tended to reinforce the group's communal practises.

The main thrust of the publication, however, is directed toward two significant rites of passage (those of marriage and death) and the symbiotic wedding of the dead (used as the title of this monograph). Each of these rituals is studied, with copious examples of nuptial and funerary poetry texts. These rituals are further illustrated with appropriate black and white photographs, and these traditions are summarized in the final chapter within the context of the contemporary cooperativization and industrialization of the area.

At first glance, none of this material seems to be related to Ukrainian studies. The only time Ukraine or Ukrainians/Ruthenians are mentioned is when the Maramureş Mountains are said to form a "border with Bukovina and the Ukraine" (p. 5) and when an interracial marriage had taken place in the community, with a Ruthenian marrying in (p. 328). Such an affinity is not uncommon in Ukrainian patrilineal and patriarchal peasant communities as well. The use of the Ukrainian term *pryjmak* (meaning either foster child or husband living with his in-laws) indicates parallel perceptions of unequal intermarriage in both Ukrainian and Romanian rural family life. There are many other parallelisms in the life-cycle rituals of the peasant communities of Romania and Ukraine (see for example, part 3 of V. Suxevyč's description of Ukrainian rural rites of passage in *Hucul'ščyna*, 1902). A perusal of the terminology used in the texts also indicates at least dialectal lexical commonality. Terms such as *cnezi*—headmen (p. 32), *slab*—weak (p. 32), *harbuz*—gourd (p. 34), *soacră*—mother-in-law (p. 43), *steag*—flag (p. 82), *druşcă*—bridesmaid (p. 86), *colac*—circular ritual bread (p. 97), or *ibdi*—to make love (p. 140) are not exactly unintelligible to a Ukrainian familiar with the southwestern dialects of his or her language.

There is another item with which Kligman has perhaps unwittingly brought her work close to Ukrainian studies. This occurs when she states: "Those familiar with Paradjanov's film *Shadows of Our Forgotten Ancestors* will recall the various occasions when the dead lover is thought to have returned for dinner or to visit. The theme of that film is the theme of this [Kligman's] book" (pp. 346–47). The screenplay of this film was based on Kocjubyns'kyj's short story of the same title. The theme of Kligman's book, on the other hand, is much more comprehensive than her above intimation. It is an excellent study of how a traditional cultural group develops and copes in modernity. A similar study of the development of the rites of passage of contemporary Ukrainian village dwellers is long overdue.

Bohdan Medwidsky
University of Alberta

CHRONICLE

Henri Grégoire*

IHOR ŠEVČENKO

When I first met Henri Grégoire, I was a young man aged twenty-four. He was sixty-five. He had little time for me on that first occasion, except to say that an interesting lecture was to be held that evening. I went to that lecture, whose title I now forget, and was sitting in a dimly lit room waiting for it to start. Sometime later Grégoire stormed in, accompanied by his secretary. His first words, uttered loudly, were, "Cherchez le bulgare," meaning myself. He explained that phrase to me. It had to do with a puzzle popular during World War I. He also said that he was glad to see me. He remembered. I was hooked.

I last met Henri Grégoire three years before his death at the Ochrid Byzantine Congress of 1961. By then I had begun to be noticed in Byzantine circles, and he was a man of eighty. Ours was a melancholy encounter. I had to live through two painful moments—witnessing the ruthless and efficient elimination of Grégoire from the presidency of the International Association of Byzantinists, and hearing the applause with which the embarrassed general assembly of the congress drowned out the address by my master. Grégoire came from Brussels to Ochrid by train, an exhausting journey. Upon arrival he developed a high fever. I was delegated to go and try to convince him that he should return home, but did not succeed. He was put into Ochrid's clean, but primitive infirmary. When I went to visit him there, he was at first incoherent. Then suddenly he propped himself up on his elbow, looked at me squarely with his lucid black beady eyes, and asked, "Et comment va le *Toparque gothique*?" (I had told him about my misgivings concerning the authenticity of this puzzling text back in 1957, and he loved to expose frauds.) I did not expect such alertness. Grégoire's question, and not the beginning of a reverential friendship with George Ostrogorsky, was for me the high point of the Ochrid congress.

Since you are an alert reader, you will have figured out from the numerical data I just adduced that Henri Grégoire was born in 1881, and that he died in 1964. Again, being an alert reader, in the course of this essay you will figure out two more complicated things: first, why a man called one of the greatest Byzantinists of all time in

* This is a slightly revised text of an address given before the members of the Byzantine Studies Conference at Columbus, Ohio, in November 1987.

1964 is so seldom quoted less than a quarter of a century after his death;[1] second, how a contact of about three years—I left for the United States in 1949 and saw Grégoire subsequently on only two occasions—could have had such a lasting impact on my scholarly outlook. For my part, I shall not be assessing Grégoire's contribution to Byzantine studies; that task is too weighty for my purposes here. It can also be performed by someone who never laid eyes on him. I shall view Grégoire's strengths and weaknesses as a scholar, not so much in terms of time and place as in terms of his personality.

But first we must say a word about time and place. For a small country, Belgium can boast a disproportionate share of outstanding scholars. In the sixteenth century it produced Justus Lipsius, the famous editor of Tacitus. In our century it gave birth to Joseph Bidez, Franz Cumont, Henri Pirenne, and the Bollandists Hippolyte Delehaye and Paul Peeters. In this context Henri Grégoire appears as just another product of the same fertile soil. It is also easy to understand how Grégoire became a Byzantinist.[2] He was of Walloon and French descent and grew up in an area aware of the French crusading past. Godefroi de Bouillon was "Belgian," and Huy, the native town of Grégoire, had a gate called the Gate of Constantinople. In 1898 his grandmother gave him, a boy of seventeen, a copy of the first volume of Gustave Schlumberger's *L'Épopée byzantine*. The next year, 1899, the young *lycéen* ordered on his own the edition of Digenis Akritas by Émile Legrand. This may explain how Byzantine epic poetry became one of the main themes in Grégoire's scholarship.

Grégoire prepared well for his future career. "Like all Byzantinists should," he first studied classical philology in Liège, but already as a *lycéen* had subscribed to a modern Greek daily paper, *Empros*. Upon graduating from Liège he went abroad

[1] On Grégoire as one of the greatest Byzantinists of all time, cf. the Slavicist Claude Backvis in *Le Flambeau* 47 (1964): 317–18. Incidental information: volume 47, fasc. 4–5 of *Le Flambeau* constitutes the largest single body of recollections about Grégoire. Accessioned by Harvard's Widener Library in March 1965, it was never taken out until 1988.

[2] For Grégoire's biography and appraisal of his scholarship, cf. N. A. Mavris, "La 'préhistoire' d'Henri Grégoire," *Byzantina-Metabyzantina*, I, 1 (1946); θ'–ιδ', partially reprinted in *Le Flambeau* 47 (1964): 293–303, and in *Byzantion* 35, no. 1 (1965): v–xiv; Roman Jakobson, "H. Grégoire: investigateur de l'épopée," *Byzantina-Metabyzantina*, I, 1 (1946): κ'–κβ'; E. Bikerman, "Note préliminaire à la bibliographie de Henri Grégoire," *Byzantina-Metabyzantina*, I, 1 (1946): κδ'–κε'; R. Goossens, "Henri Grégoire, par un témoin de sa vie scientifique," in *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves* 9 (1949) (= ΠΑΓΚΑΡΠΕΙΑ. *Mélanges Henri Grégoire*, 1): vii–xxix; "Hommage à Henri Grégoire" (articles by nine authors, including Claire Préaux, Emile Janssens, and Boris Souvarine), *Le Flambeau* 47 (1964): 293–358; A. Leroy-Molingen in H. Grégoire, *Autour de l'épopée byzantine* (= Variorum Reprints) (London 1975), pp. i–iv. H. G. Beck's notice in *Jahrbuch der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1965, no. 1–3, stands out among obituaries. —For the latest and most complete information on Henri Grégoire's life and writings, cf. Alice Leroy-Molinghen (one of Grégoire's pupils), "Grégoire (Clément-Gustave-Henri)" in *Biographie Nationale* (published by the Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique), 44 (1986), cols. 554–76; and Charles Delvoye, "Notice sur Henri Grégoire," *Académie Royale de Belgique, Annuaire* 156 (1990): 133–76 (obituary), 177–262 (bibliography).

and worked with Krumbacher in Munich (1902–1903) and with the two greats, Harnack and Wilamowitz, in Berlin. In Paris he obtained a diploma in Syriac; he learned Armenian. He traveled across the Pontus with Franz Cumont (in search of inscriptions), and to Athos with Gabriel Millet. He spent time collating manuscripts on Sinai and, while in residence there (1905–1906), he helped European scholars with their queries.[3] For three years he was a member of the French School at Athens. All that happened approximately during the first decade of our century. By World War I Grégoire had already acquired his superb equipment as a Byzantinist, or, to be more precise, as a Byzantine philologist, historian, epigraphist, and historical geographer.

Thus, toward the end of Grégoire's career, nobody was astonished by the list of his functions and honorific titles published at the beginning of the third of the four volumes of his *Festschrift*. The list, thirty lines long, also mentioned his various honorary doctorates from the Sorbonne, from Athens, and even from such remote places as Algiers. I note with interest that his presidency of the International Association of Byzantine Studies appeared third on the list, whereas his membership on the Visiting Committee of Dumbarton Oaks was listed in the thirtieth, or last, place.

Grégoire was a prolific writer. His bibliography drawn up in 1946, in the various volumes of the *Mélanges* in his honor between 1950 and 1957, and completed after his death, has over 750 entries.[4] Such a prodigious output was possible not only because of Grégoire's boundless energy, but also because of his following the principle of *nulla dies sine linea*. Whenever I would come into the Salle byzantine at 5, petite rue du Musée, the Mecca of my Brussels years, I would see him dictating to his secretary Maguerite Mathieu—a method, incidentally, that accounted for the *style dicté* of his prose.[5]

[3] Notably, the great Albert Ehrhard whom Grégoire provided with the analysis of the *Sinaiticus gr.* 525, one of the two basic manuscripts of the *Life* of Nicholas of Sion. Cf. A. Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos. Der heilige Nikolaos in der griechischen Kirche*. . ., II (1971), p. 5, who reprints Grégoire's analysis.

[4] For Grégoire's vast bibliography, cf. *Byzantina-Metabyzantina*, I, 1 (1946): 1–16; *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves* 10 (1950): v–lxvii; 11 (1951): vii–ix and 603; 12 (1952): v–viii; 14 (1954–57): 402–406; *Byzantion* 35, no. 1 (1965): xv–xxv. These sources list 683 regular and 73 supplementary entries. —Cf. also Charles Delvoye in fn. 2 above.

[5] Here are two specimens, an early and a late one, of his *style dicté*: (a) "Le R. P. Paul Peeters, admirablement préparé par ses études linguistiques et historiques, et armé de cette critique dont—disons-le froidement—la plupart des orientalistes, érudits fantaisistes et crédules, sont complètement dépourvus, le R. P. Peeters qui ne craint point de heurter les préjugés nationaux les plus respectables, vient de consacrer deux lectures académiques. . .et un long mémoire aux débuts du christianisme en Géorgie." Cf. *Byzantion* 7 (1932): 634. (b) "alors que la *Nouvelle Clio*, amie et alliée et non concurrente, repétons-le, de toutes les revues spéciales comme de tous les auteurs et éditeurs, fouilleurs, chercheurs, découvreurs et déchiffreurs, me semble (et semble aussi à mes amis Alföldi, Devoto, Ensslin, Kern) avoir devant elle une voie aussi libre que glorieuse. . . ." Cf. *La Nouvelle Clio* 1 (1949): 3.

Grégoire's productivity also had to do with what one of his former students called his *géniales intuitions*. It was said of him that he had ten ideas a day, of which one or two were right, but he published them all. He was a great revisionist. He asserted that the vision and conversion of Constantine the Great had pagan antecedents in 310, that is, before the Edict of Toleration. The Edict of Milan itself was not the Edict of Milan, and was promulgated by Licinius, not by Constantine. The *Vita Constantini* may have contained a Eusebian kernal; but Eusebius was not the actual author of this late fourth-century work whose documents were suspect. Comparatively few Christians perished during the persecutions in the Roman Empire. The "Russian" (that is East Slavic) translation of the epic of Digenis Akritas, Grégoire told us in the wake of Speranskij, reflected the earliest version of that epic, a version created in a Paulician milieu. Finally, the reign of Emperor Michael III was a time of great successes, especially in the wars against the Arabs, a fact obscured by the machinations of propagandists in the pay of the Macedonian dynasty.[6]

Of these three examples of Grégoire's revisionism, only the third largely withstood the test of time. Initially intimidated by Grégoire's boldness, the traditionalists and the lazy minds, that is, the majority of us all, regrouped or woke up and staged counterattacks: by 1951, on three irrefutable pages they identified a papyrus text confirming the authenticity of at least one edict contained in the *Vita Constantini*; they made it plausible that the "Russian" version of *Digenis Akritas* was not an early (twelfth-or even eleventh- century) adaptation, but a fourteenth-century one and not "Russian" at all, but South Slavic.[7] And so on and so forth. Grégoire's

6 "Géniales intuitions": cf. Goossens, "Henri Grégoire. . ." (as in fn. 2 above), p. xvii; Constantinian revisionism: cf., e.g., "Eusèbe n'est pas l'auteur de la 'Vita Constantini' dans sa forme actuelle, et Constantin ne s'est pas 'converti' en 312," *Byzantion* 13, no. 2 (1938): 561–83; "La vision de Constantin 'liquidée'," *Byzantion* 14, no. 2 (1939): 341–51; "L'authenticité et l'historicité de la *Vita Constantini* attribuée à Eusèbe de Césarée," *Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques, Bulletin*, 5th ser., 39 (1953): 469–79; [The position of modern scholarship is that the *Vita Constantini* is authentic Eusebius, but that it was left by its author in an unfinished state, cf., e.g., Timothy D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981), pp. 265–71]; mild character of the great persecutions: "Les persécutions dans l'Empire romain," *Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques, Mémoires*, 2d ser., 56, 5 (1964): 165–67 (p. 166: two thousand five hundred to three thousand martyrs at the most perished during the Diocletianic persecution); the Slavic Digenis Akritas closest to the original 'Paulician' version: cf., e.g., "Note sur le Digenis slave," *Byzantion* 10 (1935): 335–39; "Notes on the Byzantine Epic," *Byzantion* 15 (1940–41): 92–103 (both reprinted, as nos. xiii and xviii respectively, in Grégoire's posthumous *Autour de l'épopée byzantine* [1975]); rehabilitation of Michael III: cf., e.g., "Études sur le neuvième siècle," *Byzantion* 8, no. 2 (1933): 515–50.

7 That the *Papyrus Londiniensis 878* (first published in 1950 and datable to soon after 320) is a fragment of an edict by Constantine issued in 324 and cited in extenso in *Vita Constantini* was established by A. H. M. Jones in 1951; ironically enough, this discovery was the subject of a paper Jones read the following year in Brussels at a meeting of the Société Théonoé, a child of Grégoire's. Grégoire, who was present at Jones's lecture, congratulated him on his "brillante découverte," but insisted that one should distinguish between *documents* inserted into the

revolutionary theories were either refuted, or, if not refuted, were not spoken of after his death. One such was his theory that Asclepius was a mole-god, the word for mole being *aspalax*, and Apollo, originally a rat. Today we do not hear much about the mole-origin of Asclepius; if we do, the judgment is negative.[8]

Revisionists have observant adversaries. Those of Grégoire pointed out that his promises outnumbered his deliveries. He undertook to edit the works of Cyril of Scythopolis, but Eduard Schwartz did it in 1939, years after Grégoire's initial announcement. He promised to write a *travail d'ensemble* on the Paulicians, and gave us a number of incisive articles on the subject, but less precise pens, like that of Runciman, and more sober minds, like that of Lemerle, did most of the job in the end. He promised to publish a corpus of Christian inscriptions of Asia Minor, but only the first—by the way, excellent—fascicule of the projected corpus appeared in 1922. Grégoire, these same adversaries observed, never wrote a big book. Some said no book at all, because his *Digenis Akritas*, a thick volume of over three hundred pages, published in modern Greek in America during the last war, was really a collection of essays. His, Roger Goossen's and Marguerite Mathieu's study of Asclepius and Apollo (1949), two hundred pages long, was, so they claimed, merely a series of observations. Even his, André Maricq's, Jacques Moreau's, and Paul Orgels's *Persecutions in the Roman Empire*, the second edition of which appeared in the year of his death, was an extended article of about eighty pages with about two hundred pages of appendices and notes.[9]

Grégoire's detractors were technically right. Grégoire had a constitutional dislike for the sort of work of synthesis that is by necessity largely based on secondary literature. "Another history of Byzantium?" he quipped once in my presence, "let your wife write it." He was after discoveries, or rather The Discovery, Discovery *per se*, not in pursuit of a concrete Subject, with discoveries coming along in the way of the research on that subject. No wonder that he provided his last creation, *La*

Vita Constantini and its *text*. He continued to contest the authenticity of the latter. Cf. *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 5 (1954): 196–200; *La Nouvelle Clio* 5 (1953): 215; and F. Winkelmann, *Die Textbezeugung der Vita Constantini des Eusebius von Caesarea* (1962) (= Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, 84), p. 66, n. 1.

8 "Asklépios, Apollon Smintheus et Rudra," in *Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques, Mémoires*, 45, 1 (1949). For a negative judgment on Grégoire's etymology *Asklepios* < *aspalax*, cf. H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, I (1973): 164–65, s.v.'Ἀσκληπιός.

9 Planned edition of Cyril of Scythopolis's works: N. A. Mavris, "La préhistorie. . .," ι', and *Byzantion* 35, no. 1 (1965): vii, both as in fn. 2 above; promise concerning the Paulicians: "Précisions géographiques et chronologiques sur les Pauliciens," *Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques, Bulletin*, 5th ser., 33 (1947): 289; fate of Grégoire's articles on the Paulicians: in the bibliography of Nina G. Garsoian's *The Paulician Heresy* (The Hague, 1967), Grégoire has the most entries of any single scholar (p. 252); I found no reference to Grégoire in Milan Loos's *Dualist Heresy in the Middle Ages* (Prague, 1974); inscriptions: *Recueil des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure*, 1 (Paris, 1922); epic: Διγενὴς Ἀκρίτας. Ἡ Βυζαντινὴ Ἐποποιΐα στὴν Ἱστορία. . . καὶ στὴν Ποίηση (New York, 1942); for gods-moles and gods-rats, cf. "Asklépios. . .," as in fn. 8; for "Les persécutions dans l'Empire romain," see fn. 6 above.

Nouvelle Clio, which he founded in 1949, with the subtitle *Revue... de la découverte historique*. This periodical was to "embrace the immense field of universal history."

There was another reason for the lack of proof of sustained effort in Grégoire's numerous writings. He was more than a Byzantinist and more than a normal professorial type. First of all he was also a classicist. You may remember him as an editor and translator of Euripides in the *Collection Guillaume Budé*.[10] Secondly, he was a man of politics and journalism. In 1904, at the age of twenty-three, he went to the Belgian Congo as a secretary-member of the commission to investigate allegations of abuses by the administration of Leopold II. (The commission found that abuses had been committed; this displeased Leopold II and cost Grégoire a royal nomination to a chair in Byzantine philology.)[11] During World War I Grégoire published a paper under German occupation. In April 1918, before the occupation was over, he started an underground political journal, *Le Flambeau*, which he continued editing after it became legal, and to which he kept contributing until one year before his death, when time began to catch up with him.[12] In 1925 he went to Cairo to be the Dean of Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of a newly founded university there. In my Brussels days Grégoire was active in the politics of Belgium's liberal party. He was anti-clerical by family tradition, but—I say this in parentheses—his best friends were the Bollandist fathers Peeters and Halkin—friends and neighbors, for Grégoire lived close to them on Brussels' rue des Bollandistes. A man with such a range of activity had to spread himself thin no matter how prodigious his energies may have been, and was not likely to produce monumental handbooks.

To say all this is to grant that Grégoire was not perfect. It is better to say so outright than to indulge in apologetics. It would be apologetics to point out, for instance, that many of Grégoire's findings, especially in the field of epic poetry, both Byzantine and Western, remain valid; that the same can be said for some of his "Études sur le neuvième siècle," and about his theses on the diversion of the Fourth Crusade;[13] that the first fascicule of the Christian inscriptions of Asia Minor remains an admirable tool even today; and that he gave us a sure proof that the Byzantine

10 The Euripidean tragedies edited and translated by Grégoire between 1924 and 1950 are: *Supplices, Ion, Iphigeneia in Tauris, Helen.* Cf. Bibliography in *Annuaire* (see fn. 4 above), 10 (1950), nos. 73 and 480.

11 On the Congo affair, cf. J. Stengers, "Le role de la Commission d'Enquête de 1904–1905 au Congo," *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves*, 10 (1950) (= ΠΑΓΚΑΡΠΕΙΑ. *Mélanges Henri Grégoire*, 2): 701–26. —Liège and Ghent being off bounds to Grégoire, there remained the private Université Libre de Bruxelles. Grégoire became the *titulaire* for all courses in Greek there after his return from Athens in 1909. He remained with the ULB for the duration of his career.

12 *Le Flambeau* 46 (1963) contains several articles by Grégoire, mostly on Byzantine topics. These articles display the master's old passion for establishing connections, but the connections are no longer clearly to be seen. The old lion, still out to hunt, was no longer able to catch up with the gazelle.

13 Cf. *Byzantion* 15 (1940–41): 158–66; "Empereurs belges ou français de Constantinople," *Bulletin de la faculté des lettres de Strasbourg* 25 (1947): 221–27.

Euchaita and today's Avhat in Asia Minor are one and the same place.[14]

Finally, it would be apologetics to refer to Grégoire's insights into the nature of scholarly activity. "Do you intend to tackle a big topic, or a circumscribed one?" he asked me in 1948 when I sought his advice as to the kind of paper I should present at the International Byzantine Congress to be held in Brussels that year. "If you handle a large topic, you do not have to be right; but if you choose a small one, you better offer a correct solution." I remained forever mindful of this dictum of his.

Grégoire was not even perfect as a teacher. It was said that his lectures at the Université Libre de Bruxelles were above the heads of undergraduate students. And yet Grégoire's seminars on Eusebius's *Vita Constantini* and Lactantius's *De mortibus persecutorum* remain among the most exciting of my life's intellectual experiences. What was it about Grégoire that fascinated his colleagues, initially paralysed his adversaries, and endeared him both to wide audiences and to the members of his Séminaire byzantin? Grégoire impressed and continues to impress the initiate with his unparalleled knowledge of Greek from Homer through the classics, the second Sophistics, the Byzantines, to the popular language of his day, which he championed in the wake of Psichari, and with his talent for beautiful but precise and lucid translations, whether from Greek, from Russian, or from other Slavic tongues. He also impressed those in the know by his intimacy with sources and his ability to bring them to life. Take his unforgettable retelling of a page or two in Michael Attaleiates that he once extemporized during a seminar on that author. Attaleiates described the sleepless night that the Byzantine host, encircled by the Turks, spent in their encampment a day or two before the fateful battle of Mantzikert. Never mind that Attaleiates was an eyewitness; never mind that Grégoire followed his source step by step; his own description of the *nuit blanche* at Mantzikert was more gripping and kept us riveted to our chairs.[15]

Grégoire's intimacy with sources enabled him to provide his controversial theories with authentic backround, and to produce a combination in which fact and fantasy blended into one persuasive whole. In his initial successes Grégoire could be likened to the great chess players of the mid-nineteenth century, who won their brilliant games because chess theory was not yet developed and their adversaries did not know the refutations. Now any plodder consulting a textbook on chess can apply them to his own game. Similarly, in the 1940s people were less critical of Grégoire than they are now because they were less knowledgeable. Before the refutations came, that is between 1929 and 1939, Grégoire's periodical *Byzantion* was the home of more exciting writing in our field than in any other period that preceded or that came after it. Think for a second of *Byzantion*'s "Études sur le neuvième siècle" and of the "Études constantiniennes" on the one hand, and of our own solemn *Speculum* or of the recent bibliographical devotion of the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* on the other.

14 "Géographie byzantine," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 19 (1910), esp. pp. 59–61.

15 Attaleiates's passage on the *nuit blanche* is in his *Hist.*, 156, 4–157, 15 Bonn.

All this was possible not only because Grégoire was excited by his own work, but also because he had an uncanny talent for detecting and promoting good or new contributions and for helping people. This traveling companion of Gabriel Millet was not an art historian, but he extended the hospitality of *Byzantion*'s pages to a number of art historians of Slavic extraction and, to give an example, published N. Malickij several years before the appearance of the latter's important essay of 1932 on the so-called marginal psalters, an essay to which several younger American art historians have referred to in one or another of their articles. Let Ivan Dujčev discover a new fragment of *Scriptor Incertus de Leone Armenio* in a Vatican manuscript, and in the same year Grégoire would broadcast the discovery and improve upon it in his *Byzantion*. Let George Ostrogorsky publish his *Pronija* in inaccessible Serbian, and Grégoire would soon publish his own French translation of it as the first volume of the *Subsidia* of his *Corpus Bruxellense*.[16] Let the Nazis and pre–World War II history make homeless flotsam of men of the calibre of Ernst Stein, Ernst Honigmann, and Paul Wittek, and Grégoire would give them shelter in his Salle byzantine. Let the aftermath of World War II make homeless flotsam of the unknown young and Grégoire would give them hospitality in the same Salle byzantine.

Hospitality and encouragement: he believed in the boundless ability of the young to learn, and he never withheld praise and recognition from them. During my second appearance at his Byzantine seminar, the fact was discussed that Tuesday, the day of the week on which Constantinople fell to the Turks, was a *dies nefastus*. Grégoire informed us that there was an article in modern Greek on this topic by the great folklore scholar Nicholas Politis.[17] All this was of course news to me. Grégoire must have divined this, for he turned to me and asked me to report on that article at the seminar's meeting next week. "But I do not know modern Greek," I said. "You have a whole week to learn it," was the reply. Next week I delivered my report. Later on in the year we were reading a modern Greek text in a dialect, I forget which. We were standing around the table and Grégoire was next to me. In the text a young man was said to have taken the *aththo* of a girl. It dawned on me in a flash that *aththo* meant *anthos*, flower, and that the young man took the girl's virginity. I said so. He said nothing in reply. He only stretched his arm above his head and put his hand on my shoulder. I never forgot the touch of that hand.

So much for Grégoire's magic with initiates and with students. He charmed society spinsters, and kept large audiences spellbound for an hour and a half of improvised talk by pretending that things were simple, by stating falsely that he had no method—of course he had the old-fashioned philological method, because many of his proofs were based on etymologies and on discussions of words—by claiming that he and his school had only one doctrine, which he called *évidentialisme*—the

[16] Malickij: cf. *Byzantion* 3 (1926): 123–51; Dujčev: cf. *Byzantion* 11 (1936): 417–28; Ostrogorsky: cf. his *Pour l'histoire de la féodalité byzantine*. . . . (Brussels, 1954).

[17] N. A. Politis, Διατὶ ἡ Τρίτη θεωρεῖται ἀποφρὰς ἡμέρα, e.g., in his Λαογραφικὰ Σύμμεικτα 1 (1920): 42–47.

doctrine of the obvious—and by combining, as he did in dealing with the professionals, precision with fantasy. This was a heady cocktail. For the general public he also doctored his texts a bit, at least when he was young. In a popular lecture of about 1904, he spoke of "the island of Crete, 'may God confound it,' as Byzantine chroniclers never failed to add." He had found one Byzantine source that said this, but he improved his evidence.[18]

Grégoire repeatedly referred to "our Brussels school." In fact the "Brussels school" hardly existed. It was a group of people depending on Grégoire intellectually and on whom Grégoire in turn depended—hence the many works written in collaboration with his followers. Some of these followers may have resented him slightly, but they showed their dependence by continuing to work on topics that were his. Others were talented and independent, but it was precisely with these that Grégoire had bad luck. Roger Goossens, an able classicist, Indologist, and a poet in his own right, died prematurely of lung cancer. Both Jacques Moreau and André Maricq, who worked in fields inaccessible to Grégoire, such as Sassanian Persia in the case of Maricq, died prematurely. Moreau perished at the age of forty-four in a Turkish plane crash and Maricq at the age of thirty-four from a disease he had contracted in Afghanistan.

Of his students or of people intellectually influenced by him, at least four are still alive, and, believe it or not, I am the youngest of them. I shall take advantage of my position as one of the four last Mohicans and shall close by musing on lessons to be derived from Grégoire's life and conduct, his *bios kai politeia*. The first lesson, the easiest to formulate, is meant for students. If you discover a teacher who displays a flawless factual knowledge of his field and its tools, especially the linguistic ones, and who takes off from the platform of this knowledge on flights of fancy, flock to him. Even if you do not get into his flying machine with him, but only watch him fly himself, you will never forget the experience.

Next comes the lesson for flourishing scholars. This one requires a fuller formulation. Polonius would put it more or less in these terms: "Avoid the trodden paths and explore new territory"—this is easy to do in Byzantine studies, even today—"but do not aimlessly wander from one spot to another just because something unknown may be hidden there. Try to know where you are going. Cultivate a sense of continuity in your own work. Do not despise, as Grégoire affected to despise, the writing of long books on topics treated before. Writing on what you know better than others may be a form of repaying your debt to the scholarly community. Espouse theories of discontinuity in Byzantine history, and of the multinationality of

[18] *La Cour byzantine* (Huy, 1904), p. 14: "la Crète que Dieu confonde." The *Cour* was a paper Grégoire gave at his native town's *Cercle Hutois des Sciences et Beaux-Arts*. As far as I know, the "chroniclers" amount to one text, *De Cerimoniis*, going under the name of Constantine Porphyrogenitus; cf. the expression θεολέστου Κρήτης (in titles of chapters), 514 and 651:15 Bonn. Grégoire's immediate source, however, seems to have been French, namely, Gustave Schlumberger's *Un Empereur byzantin au dixième siècle, Nicéphore Phocas* (Paris, 1890), p. 38, where we read "cette Crète 'que Dieu confonde,'" with a reference to "Cérémonies."

the Byzantine Empire, and learn Old Church Slavonic, Syriac, and Armenian, as Grégoire did. But do not forget, as Grégoire never forgot, that the cultural products of the Byzantine elite and some of Byzantium's folklore are part of a continuum extending from Homer to whomever may be the present prime minister of Greece."

"Espouse or combat methodologies of neighboring fields to elucidate your own, as Grégoire did in studying and rejecting Joseph Bédier, when he worked on the Byzantine epic, but"—and this is the supreme lesson—"never relent, as Grégoire never relented, in improving your mastery of Greek and in reading and rereading the sources. Even if you practise all these virtues," Polonius would close his sermon, "your claim to a place in the Hall of Fame may be disputed, as Grégoire's claim to that place was disputed by some. But without practising those virtues assiduously, you will have little chance of getting there."

So far Polonius. Since I am not Polonius, I'll tell you outright that, although neglect of such virtues may well get you a position at a prestigious university or even a MacArthur prize, without these virtues you will *not* be saved.

Harvard University